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After Heseltine, the flood?

After Heseltine, the flood - that is the awful expectation of most people in polytechnics and colleges of the likely consequences of the new local government Bill. The general belief seems to be that what happened to the universities in 1981 will happen to the rest of higher education in 1982 as soon as inconvenient obstacles like local government rights have been cleared out of the way.

The trouble with this clear, and calamitous, scenario is that it does not appear to be entirely accurate. First, it is not certain that Mr Heseltine will be able to pass the Bill in its presently intended form. His original plan to require local authorities to hold referenda if they wished to increase their rates beyond a ceiling imposed by the Department of the Environment seems to have been vetoed by the shire Tories and their parliamentary friends, and the alternative, another election instead of a referendum, looks a dangerously double-edged weapon in the face of the SDP surge.

So the Government's present intentions remain opaque. Mr Heseltine, of course, could fall back on even more blatantly partisan manipulation of the block grant and hope that those councils which in his view are spending too much will be deterred by the threat of disproportionate losses of rate support grant. But like all attempts to blackmail, it depends for its success on the quiet submission of the intended victim. Yet there is not the slightest evidence that the worst "offenders" will be have in this way - and if they do not, further manipulation of the block grant will only have the effect of freeing more councils from any financial dependence on central government at all. This has already happened to the Inner London Education Authority. As a result the Government's options seem to have narrowed down to shifting the burden from commercial to domestic ratepayers (a political strategy that could go badly wrong) or vague long term promises to reform or abolish rates (promises that have been made and broken by most governments during the last 20 years).

Of course, the amount of the ad-

anced further education pool to be announced by the end of the month will be disastrously inadequate, falling so far short of what is needed to maintain the present system of polytechnics and colleges that it could destroy the still fragile consensus achieved by the plan for an interim national body. If this did happen there would be a descent into financial chaos which would make the UGC selectively exercise appear in contrast, a model of orderly contraction.

The implication of all this for the non-university sector is that the Heseltine Bill, although a substantial threat to the necessary effort to maintain an adequate level of funding, may be less important than the cut in the pool which will mean that local authorities will be able to maintain present standards only by greatly increased supplementation from the rates. Faced with the escalating cost of basic and essential services, the local authorities will be under a threat posed by the rise and rise of the SDP, and the growing threat of a ratepayers' revolt, many local authorities in an election year will feel they have no alternative but to make substantial cuts.

Secondly, it is wrong to imagine that no real cuts have been made by local authorities in the polytechnics and colleges they maintain. Although the spotlight has been on the universities for the past five months (exactly as the UGC intended it should be), more jobs have been lost in the local authority than in the university sector over the last year. The recent figures produced by the expenditure steering group which showed that spending on further education last year was £24m lower than allowed for in that year's rate support grant give a clear indication of just how much local authorities have already done to cut costs in the non-university sector. It is one thing for the universities to insinuate that they have been cut much more savagely than the polytechnics and so subtly suggest that the balance can be put right by relaxing university and increasing polytechnic cuts. It would be quite another for the Government

to be persuaded of this by a combination of such special pleading and its own annoyance at local government's refusal to make the cuts that it has failed to make itself.

The present position is clear. There has been no departure from the policy of evenhandedness in making the cuts. The local authorities have been as Scrooge-like as the University Grants Committee, although their public profile has been much lower, and the circumstances will make them meaner still. As a result it is extremely difficult to sustain the argument that the universities have been exceptionally hard hit by the Government's destructive policy of public disinvestment at a time of national economic crisis. Rather the danger is the other way round: for the Government to impose additional cuts on the polytechnics and colleges now would represent a radical departure from evenhandedness between the two sectors, which in an approximate form as the binary policy has been the foundation of higher education policy since the mid-1960s.

Indeed there is a strong case for discriminating in favour of the non-university sector. It is after all less well resourced than the university sector. It has more potential to contribute to the solution of the overwhelming problem of youth unemployment. Britain arguably has enough elite higher education (= universities?) but far too little popular or mass higher education (= polytechnics and colleges?).

Yet the polytechnics are cruelly vulnerable to further cuts and do not possess the powerful lobby enjoyed by the universities on which to base a fight back. If the amount of the AFE pool is too ridiculously low, if the Heseltine Bill succeeds in curbing the present ability of local authorities to make good cuts in the pool allocation by supplementation from rate income, and if as a result the plan for an interim national body is stillborn, the future of the whole non-university sector will be in jeopardy and the hopeful achievement of Anthony Crosland's binary policy will be fatal undermined.

A can of worms

The Council of Local Education Authorities was well aware of the can of worms it was opening when it submitted its report on college government to ministers last year. Directors and principals were infuriated by implications of extravagance and saw the report as a thinly disguised bid for an unnecessary and undesirable further extension of authorities' powers of interference in the running of polytechnics and colleges.

The report spoke of governing bodies condoning "luxury spending" by some directors and principals, and complained that existing instruments and articles were too prescriptive. It called for changes in four main areas: mid-year budget changes, course approvals, the employment of staff and intervention in cases of "dubious financial management". Present constraints were contributing to inefficiency, it said, putting the case for local authorities to cut back on the level of independence enjoyed by their institutions.

It took a long time for the working party which arose out of the report to reach tentative conclusions about the changes which would be possible in the changing circumstances of the public sector. The recommendations would have been considerably less controversial than the original document, but do not appear to have been to the liking of the Department of Education and Science.

There are two opposing views of the way in which the guidelines laid down by Sir Toby Weaver should change to accommodate national planning. In the institutions themselves there is considerable support for a strengthening of the role of governors as a protection against those who see higher education as an ideal target for cuts. The corporate status of the Inner London polytechnics is eyed enviously by those fearful of more direct control by central or local government.

The counter argument is that more power, not less, should be vested in the local authority in order to provide real accountability and control over expenditure. Its proponents insist that the Weaver guidelines are now outdated and that some changes would have to be introduced if national planning of any sort is to become a reality.

Although the instinct of those inside higher education is to support the first position, there must be doubt about whether such an approach is right for the times. All sides claim to accept the need for a rational distribution of any cuts which have to be made, and it may be that some changes will be necessary in instruments and articles of government to ensure that the decisions of a national body are put into practice.

The Inner London model has ob-

vious attractions but has yet to be put to the test in circumstances of real stringency. The relatively easy ride enjoyed by the five polytechnics has more to do with the policies of the Inner London Education Authority than corporate status.

As the working party rightly concluded in its unpublished report, there are changes which could be made without inviting wholesale interference in the everyday running of institutions. No one would support measures which encouraged the spread of practices complained of by some college principals, who have to seek local authority clearance for the most mundane administrative decisions. But the DES can be under no illusions that the problems of college government will somehow disappear.

On the contrary, even the interim body which starts work next month is likely to be faced with the same thorny questions which the DES has decided to dodge for the moment. Certainly, the local authorities are right that either of the models put forward in the Green Paper would require some amendment to instruments and articles, albeit after some delicate negotiations, which institutional representatives and the unions. The interim committee should waste no time in grasping that particular nettle and reopening discussion of the report.

Laurie Taylor



Item eight. Christmas party. I believe we have a proposal from one of our student reps. John isn't it?

Mark.

Ah yes. Mark. Jolly good. The floor's yours, Mark.

Thank you, sir. Well, it's really about the possible format of the year's party and possible future parties. You see we rather feel that students have not been adequately represented on the organizing committee for previous Christmas parties. In fact we've not been represented at all.

Technically true, John. Technically true. But quite honestly I think everyone's least over backwards to make certain you get the sort of party you like. Last year we hired that night club in the middle of town and booked a five piece band. What was it called? Yes Dr Tranter, you handled this aspect didn't you?

Juke on the Loose, sir. North London R and B. Very tight.

Exactly. And then as I recall, Dr Aspinall, a special student period during the evening entirely devoted to John Lennon. Am I right?

Indeed you are, sir. Nothing but Lennon tracks for 60 minutes. All the way from "You've got to hide your love away" - the rather Dylanish track on *Help* - right through to the sardonic "Ballad of John and Yoko".

Yes, I remember it well. Professor Standish got quite carried away in the middle of "Power to the People Right On". And didn't we all get together for one of the songs. I have a mental picture of Dr Rabbit standing in the centre of the dance area while we joined arms around him.

Yes sir. That was for "So this is Christmas".

"So this is Christmas?"

Yes, sir. You remember "So this is Christmas... da da da da da".

Ah yes. "Another year over - da da da da da".

Exactly, sir.

All of which helped down I think by some of that beer your students like these days. What was it, Dr Crockett? Mason's Thoroughbred? Something like that.

Marat's Pedigree, sir. A very fine pint.

Well John, as you can see we pretty well bent over backwards last year to go along with student demand, but we're quite happy to hear any suggestions that you might wish to make about this year's standing.

Can I speak frankly, sir?

Of course.

Well, sir. What we'd like best of all is to go back to what we believe used to happen many years ago. I think it was the late 1950s, sir.

Ah yes. First class idea. Frankie Lane and Jezabel... "If ever a devil was born..." and Tommy Steele and the Cavemen, and of course good old Frank Field.

"I re-member - yoo-hoo".

Not exactly sir. What we'd really like most of all is a stand-up wine and cheese party in the Senior Common Room.

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Students who just can't spel

Claim aims to protect lower paid

Theory of creation evolves into seminar on philosophy

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Polys, colleges may escape brunt of expenditure cuts

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Polys, colleges may escape brunt of expenditure cuts

by John O'Leary
Polytechnics and colleges are to escape more lightly than expected in next year's round of cuts under Government proposals put to the local authorities this week in a confidential report. As a result, they may fare better than the universities during 1982-3.

Leaders of the local authority associations will meet Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, next Wednesday, to discuss a 3½ per cent cut in the total amount allotted to the Advanced Further Education Pool. The "quantum" will be set at £536m, the Government providing 56 per cent of that amount.

The cut, outlined in a Department of Education and Science paper to the Expenditure Steering Group for Education, is one per cent lower than that set for the universities next year. But the use of current expenditure targets which have not been met will make the true reduction similar to the universities'.

In the DES paper it is assumed that revised targets were met last year when in reality spending overshoot by some 4 per cent, and the same is likely to be true this year. In addition, the central government contribution to the pool is to be reduced from 59 to 56 per cent, obliging the local authorities to raise more from the rates.

Comparisons are complicated by the adoption of new pricing mechanisms and the decision, announced this week, to almost halve tuition fees for home students and those from EEC countries. Local authorities have been compensated for the loss of income by the addi-

tion of £73m to the pool.
The DES paper acknowledges that the new figure will result in redundancies, some compulsory. Earlier ESSE estimates put the loss of further and higher education jobs at 5,800 by 1983-4.

Non-advanced further education is to be allowed an extra £35m during 1982-3 in addition to the £50m already announced to assist provision for the 16-19 age group. The sector will be given a one per cent increase but will see this swallowed up by increased student numbers.

Both the universities and the public sector will be more tightly controlled as a result of the surprise decision to reduce tuition fees. Designated courses will carry a fee of £480 instead of the current £900, thus reducing the incentive for institutions to boost recruitment as a means of raising extra funds.

A statement from the DES explained: "Some measure of fee income is important to ensure that institutions retain a degree of flexibility. However, a high level allows institutions to some extent to offset financial constraints imposed by static or declining recurrent grants by recruiting more students. This in turn generates more public expenditure."

The change will not affect students receiving mandatory awards because their fees are paid by local authorities, but rising levels of fees since 1977 have meant that the marginal income from increasing recruitment often exceeds the cost of providing for extra students, according to the DES.

Tory MPs revolt on policies

Signs of disaffection among Conservative MPs and councillors with the Government's higher education policies emerged this week with the publication of two critical reports.

In an examination of the effects of spending cuts on the universities and on the Robbins Principle, only two of the five Tory members of the Select Committee on Education were prepared to defend the Government's record. One, Mr Patrick Cormack (Staffordshire SW) voted with Opposition MPs, while Mr Harry Greenway (Ealing North) and Mr David Madel (South Bedford) abstained.

The report urged the Government to reconsider its current policies to take account of the comparative costs of maintaining a student at university and an individual on the unemployment register. It also called for guarantees to be given to universities that necessary redundancy costs will be met or the rate of cuts slowed down.

"The committee is extremely concerned that the Department of Education and Science should have embarked on a policy which, unless additional funds of a very substantial nature can be injected into the university system, must inevitably lead to some universities going bankrupt," it said.

While not directly passing judgment on the state of the Robbins Principle that all qualified students should be able to enter higher education, the MPs noted that opportunities for sixth formers would be sharply reduced and the development of continuing education inhibited.

At a press conference to launch the report, Mr Cormack said: "A lot of what is being done is highly damaging; it is not being thought out and the country is going to have to live with these scars for a very long time unless we can persuade the Government to think again."

A "more considered and thoughtful" reply to the committee's report on higher education followed by an announcement of economies spread over a quinquennium would have avoided the damage now being done, he said.

Even Mr Tim Brinton (Con. Gravesend), one of the two members of the committee to vote against the report, said he accepted the desirability of extending the university cuts from three to five years.

In the second report, by a working party of the Conservative National Advisory Committee for Education which included leading local authority figures, the Government's preferred option for a permanent national body to plan public sector higher education was rejected.



Skidding and scuffling in the snow, Cambridge won a chilly victory at the University Match at Twickenham on Tuesday when they defeated Oxford by nine to six. They now lead with 44 victories to 43 in the series and retain the Bowling Bowl.

Theory of creation evolves into seminar on philosophy

from Tom Scott
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

A court battle over the teaching of evolution in schools in the United States turned rapidly into a seminar on the philosophy of science during the first days of a trial in Little Rock, Arkansas.

A lawsuit has been brought against the state by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), challenging the constitutionality of a law passed in March. This requires that whenever the Darwinian theory of evolution is taught in schools, the equal effort must be devoted to the theory that the world was created relatively recently by the act of a

divine creator.
The ACLU claims that, by requiring what is called "creation-science" to be taught in this way, the state is violating the First Amendment to the Constitution which requires a sharp separation of church and state. It argues that, even though the law contains no explicit references to the Bible, any explanation of the material world based on the instantaneous creation of all living species presupposes the existence of a creator, and is thus, by definition, religious.

References to Copernicus, Galileo and Newton have scattered the dialogue between attorney and expert witnesses. Parallels have been drawn between the tactics of creationist supporters and efforts to promote the ideas of the geneticist Lysenko in Stalinist Russia; while Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn have been used to justify notions of what makes science scientific.

The ACLU is trying to demonstrate that, whatever labels are attached to "creation-science" it is not a real science but a form of religion.

The state attorney general's office, which is defending the new law, is taking a different tack. Even if creation-science is not totally scientific they claim, neither is evolution since it cannot be observed in practice, nor can it be experimented with. Hence, the argument, runs, both evolution and creation-science are "just as scientific as one another".

It is an interpretation which drives most scientists to despair. Dr Gary Dalrymple, assistant chief geologist with the United States Geological Survey, said he put creationist ideas "in the same category as the flat earth hypothesis". After describing several ways of demonstrating that the earth is many times older than the creationists claim, he said it was "not consistent with the scientific method to hold on to a hypothesis that has been consistently disproved."

I vivid Jobbins reports on the National Union of Students' winter conference in Blackpool

tudents steer a moderate course

erate leaders of the National Union of Students secured significant victories against extremists at the winter conference in Blackpool this week.

Among their achievements they secured:

• overwhelming support for a long strike next term by 30 non-finalists in universities, schools and colleges in protest at 4 per cent grants rise;

• defeat of attempts to provide form for Mr Owen Carron, MP for South Tyrone;

• action by conference of critics of the far left of the executive's stance towards occupations such as at the Polytechnic of Central London (PCL);

• successful containment of incidents between the political extremes set off by anti-NUS delegates at a far right

ident Mr David Aaronovitch conference he believed the public would support a national strike for the proposals for awards.

NUS is claiming a 17.4 per cent rise, and conference rejected attempts to cut the real level of grants, but instead to fight to raise its real level and increase its ability.

During the debate Ms Hank Haskins, the executive, said the decision being made were "hardly extremist."

Since 1979 student grants have cut by 17 per cent. If we take per cent we have been offered 11 by a further 15 per cent cut terms.

Neil Stewart, NUS Scottish secretary, said it was a real cut, most serious setback we have had for some time.

At the end of the debate on cuts, the executive's strategy of campaigning through the Education Alliance dissolved, although a move to talks and launch direct action narrowly defeated.

Alan Ferns, Lancaster University, said: "This Government has an educational policy, it has a real one." He called for a coherent, and imaginative approach based on total opposition.

Georgie Grindlay, South Polytechnic, accused certain cuts in the universities of wanting to fight their cuts at the expense of other sectors.

"Unfortunately seem to be letting them get away with it," she claimed.

Mr Aaronovitch was not prepared to support direct action had seen over his attitude to PCL.

she said. And Mr Ken Stratford of Thames Polytechnic added: "The NUS executive is already doing its best to make sure the fight is lost. We are going to win by fighting, not by going to the Government with a begging bowl."

Ms Alison Harris (PCL) said: "The executive wants to avoid any direct action which will result in confrontation with the Government. The Education Alliance is nothing but a debating society for bureaucrats."

Ms Sarah Veale, a left-wing member of the executive, said: "I believe in the Education Alliance but it has to be more than on paper. It has to be an alliance in action."

Attempts to block alternative funding plans such as that devised at Salford on the grounds of alleged privatization were rejected. Calling for caution, Mr Fred Blakey, Newcastle University, warned that colleges would compete among themselves to ensure their survival.

Mr Tim Macnamara (Salford) said the initiative was supported by the local trades council, trades unions, and the local Labour MP. "When people talk about privatization, they should look in their own back yards," he said. "We want greater plurality in university finances."

Conservative students failed to bring NUS into discussions with the Government designed to span the university cuts over a longer period than three years.

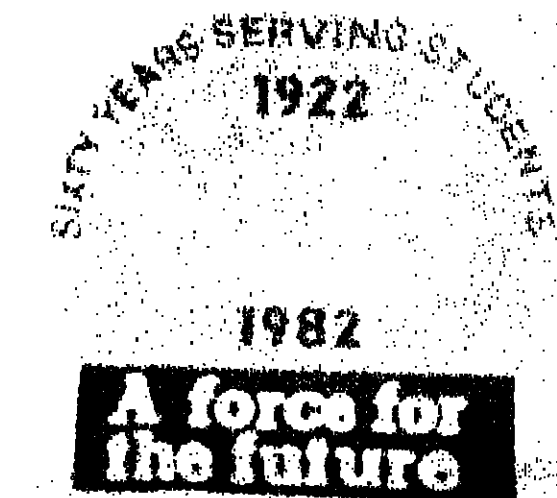
Supporting the move, Mr Paul Goodman, a Federation of Conservative Students member of the executive, said: "The chances of reversing the cuts are minimal. The only thing the union can do is to go to the Government and argue that they should be spread over five years at least."

Executive committee member Ms Nicky Edwards accused supporters of an emergency resolution supporting all direct action against the cuts of elitism and fetishism. Occupations such as PCL's were a totally futile tactic, she suggested. But Mr Alaric Bamping, (PCL) said it had shown the power of united direct action.

And Mr Paul Tyler (Thames Polytechnic) warned union leaders that "hobnobbing with the TUC" was not going to stop the cuts.

But Mr Stewart said occupations should only be used as part of a set of wider tactics where they had the support of the trade unions.

Ms Rosalind Thackeray (York University) argued that only rational argument was going to convince public opinion that higher education should not take its share of the cuts.



Moderates versus the far left. NUS president David Aaronovitch (left); Northern Ireland MP Owen Carron (top right) and Sarah Veale (right).

More blows for the left included the failure to stop the Conservative mayor of Blackpool, Mr Jim Blake, from giving delegates a civic welcome. Two votes were necessary before it was clear that last year's embarrassing decision to withdraw an invitation shortly before the then mayor was due to speak would not be repeated.

Mr Blake was heckled from the balcony of the conference hall by about 60 delegates who had walked out in protest.

Most of the executive would have left the platform if the left had been successful in persuading the conference to give time for Mr Owen Carron MP to speak. It was later decided. They accused him of being a spokesperson for the Provisional Sinn Féin, which he later denied, although admitting he was a member.

Repeated attempts to give him an opportunity to address conference failed but he later held two late night fringe meetings attended by 400 students at a Blackpool hotel, and briefly appeared on the balcony during conference.

The Federation of Conservative Students for the first time sent no delegates to conference this year. But the student right was represented by 35 anti-NUS observers several of whom stood for election to various committees and were given a hard time by opponents during hustings.

The worst receptions were reserved for one delegate from Kent University, who wore a union jack t-shirt, and another who was a member of the night-wing Monday Club who was accused of being a fascist.

One candidate for election wore the paramilitary flak jacket, khaki shirt, and gleaming army boots which were seen on rightwingers last year. He was rushed at by female students who took exception to a procut depicting depicting scissors about to sever a bra-strap on the grounds that it was sexist.

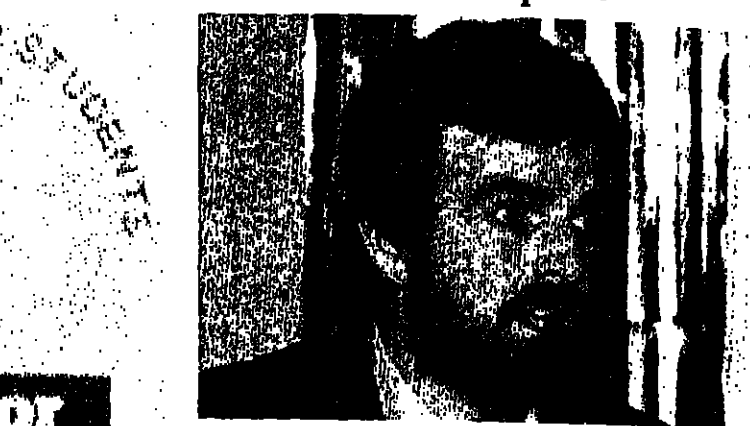
Mr Aaronovitch claimed that it was part of a deliberate attempt by people opposed to NUS to inflame delegates and advised conference to listen to "totally contemptuous and cold silence."

Mr Tim Lincare, chairman of FCS, said such incidents only served to strengthen the view that disaffiliations should continue until NUS changed or died.

A move which could make conferences more moderate was supported by an overwhelming majority of delegates. They agreed that the executive should prepare a plan for cross-campus ballots for delegate elections, instead of relying on general meetings. Only a quarter of student unions use ballots, and their more widespread introduction would inevitably curb the influence of activists.

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Students back GLC

Students are to back the Greater London Council in its legal battle to retain low public transport fares.

But they toned down an attack on Lord Denning, the Master of the Rolls, who last month ruled against the GLC, by deleting a call for his immediate removal from office.

Anxieties about this demand had earlier led to the narrow majority (296 votes to 295) by which conference expressed its support for the GLC.

Mr Ian Lund, general secretary of the London Students Organization, said students were the main beneficiaries of the low fares policy.

The only independent socialist on the NUS executive, Ms Hank Haskins, is not to resign despite her allegations that other student leaders were obstructing her work and trying to discredit her.

In a personal statement to conference, she said that since her election "I have been subjected to behind the scenes browbeating, insinuation, rumour, gossip and carve-out."

The last straw was a decision to cut the NUS welfare budget, for which she is responsible vice-president, from £5,750 to £4,500.

The decision was disappointing for Magdalen, said the college's surveyor and land agent, Mr John Lee. "These buildings need extensive renovations and we have been negotiating over the future of this part of the high street for a very long time," he said. "They are an important part of the Oxford scene and we felt we had negotiated a secure future for them."

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Social science students blacklisted

by Charlotte Barry and Olga Wojtas

Social science graduates face a bar from two areas of teacher training because their degrees are not considered relevant to the school curriculum.

The threat to aspiring teachers in England and Wales is contained in a Department of Education and Science circular sent out to colleges shortly after it announced that the post-graduate teacher training intake would be cut by a fifth next autumn.

The letter sent to Dr Clifford Butler, chairman of the Advisory Council for the Supply and Education of Teachers, said that all entrants to postgraduate courses should have gained degrees in the main subjects of the school curriculum.

The DES denied this week that it had compiled a blacklist of subjects, and said it was up to institutions to decide what degrees were relevant and the candidate's suitability for teaching.

The bar came to light after La Sainte Union college in Southampton rejected six applicants on the grounds that their degrees were unacceptable.

The college told Ms Anne Davies, a nature student in sociology at Southampton University: "Your interview was satisfactory and in other

circumstances we would have offered you a place. As the position now stands, we very much regret we are unable to do so."

Later the college explained in a letter that it classified sociology, psychology, social sciences, philosophy and similar subjects as unacceptable. It added that this interpretation had been reinforced "verbally and forcefully" by a local DES official.

Ms Davies, who left school at 15 and has long wanted to become a teacher, already has an ordinary Open University degree in a variety of subjects including education and teaches part-time in a local middle school.

She said: "Obviously there is a basis there and a commitment and I feel rather strongly that people who are not particularly worried about teaching can have a place on a course if they have the right degree where I will be denied it."

Mr Neville Dickinson, deputy principal of La Sainte Union, said that the DES advice was difficult to interpret and every case had got to be taken on its merits. "We do not wish to enter into a debate on the suitability of specific degrees. Our policy has been simply to choose candidates where the subject appears to be directly relevant to the primary school curriculum," he said.

The National Union of Students is seeking an early meeting with the DES on the issue. Mr David Aaronovitch, NUS president, said: "It is ridiculous to say these degrees are unacceptable: how relevant is nuclear physics, Russian or botanical engineering? But I bet these are not included in the blacklist." He added that it was unfair to those who decided three years ago on a degree course and now find they are debarred.

In Scotland, two sociology professors have angrily criticized the decision of the General Teaching Council to refuse to allow honours sociology graduates without passes in other social science subjects to train as modern studies teachers.

Professor Robert Moore of Aberdeen University and Professor John Eldridge of Glasgow University understood that they had convinced the council that sociology as a suitable qualification when they presented a paper to its education committee two years ago, and that the stumbling block was the Scottish Education Department, which has always opposed the move.

"I think they're behaving in a very unfair and unprincipled way," said Professor Eldridge. "They've gone behind our backs and haven't answered any of our arguments."

The Social Affairs Unit this week launched a bitter attack on state education in its latest publication, *The Pied Pipers of Education*.

"The Pied Pipers of Education are those educationists, teachers and politicians who have led children away from productive and efficient learning to a land protected from independent assessment, insulated from industrial reality and insensitive to parents' preferences and taxpayers' pockets," says the report.

Universities also come under fire. The tenure system is attacked by John Honey of Leicester Polytechnic as a licence for inefficiency and waste, an outmoded tradition which has blocked real intellectual and educational advance by clogging the flow of young blood through universities and colleges.

Fears that humanities may lose postgraduate work

Arts professors are worried by proposals to switch responsibility for postgraduate funding in the humanities to the University Grants Committee.

The UGC is considering the transfer following an approach from the Department of Education and Science which directly funds state studentships in the humanities.

Senior academics fear the move could lead to a further reduction in the number of postgraduate students as up to the 25 per cent cut imposed earlier this year.

The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals has told the UGC that the cost of administering the scheme should not come out of the money available for awards.

Dr Albert Sloman, chairman of the VCP and also chairman of the committee of academics which allocates the studentships for the DES, said they were deeply concerned about the possible effect on research in the humanities.

"Our fear is that we won't know how many awards they will make available if it is transferred to the UGC and where the cost of administering it is going to come from," he said.

The UGC said this week that it had not taken a decision on the proposed transfer and was still exploring how it might be done.

The selection committee, headed by Dr Sloman, act in the absence of a research council for the humanities. It makes postgraduate awards lasting one or three years to individual students who take them to the university or college department of their choice.

More than 3,000 graduates completed for the reduced £7m in grants available this year, and the committee allocated 348 awards leading to an MA or MLitt and 536 leading to a PhD.

The decision was disappointing for Magdalen, said the college's surveyor and land agent, Mr John Lee. "These buildings need extensive renovations and we have been negotiating over the future of this part of the high street for a very long time," he said. "They are an important part of the Oxford scene and we felt we had negotiated a secure future for them."

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What a sauce

Strathclyde University has taken revenge on Japan for daring to produce Scotch whisky.

Using biotechnological processes, it has discovered a speedy way of producing soy sauce, and has won an award in this year's Scottish Confederation of British Industry's ideas at work competition.

At present, Britain imports £10m of soy sauce from Japan, China and Korea. The fermentation of the beans can take 18 months, and the quality of the sauce can vary among batches.

Dr Brian Wood of the department of applied microbiology department, has quickened up the process to a month and a research team from the university's Centre for Industrial Innovation is setting up a company, Bean Products Ltd, along with a Scottish financiers to produce four tonnes of soy sauce a week.

The company may expand further: the biotechnology technique also produces palatable high protein milk, cheese, smoked cheese and paste.

Draft proposals on a merger between Queen Elizabeth College and Imperial College suggest setting up a joint planning committee immediately and a single governing body in the second half of 1983.

The plan, published by a joint working party, is subject to the agreement by the University Grants Committee which will have to approve the necessary funding. It is now being discussed within the two colleges.

A 12-page plan to cut 140

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Science minister proposed

by Robin McKie Science Correspondent

A Council on Science and Technology to advise Government ministers and oversee scientific research should be set up immediately, a House of Lords committee has urged.

In its report, *Science and Government*, published this week, the House of Lords Select Committee on science and technology also proposes the appointment soon of a Government Chief Scientist.

Other recommendations include a proposal that a Cabinet minister be designated to speak for both science and technology, although the committee rejects the idea of establishing a separate department of science and technology as this would cause unnecessary upheaval in existing departments.

In general, the committee states that it shares the widespread feeling of unease about the present system for providing scientific advice to government. "Scientific advice tends to be viewed too narrowly. It is understood, too often, only in terms of existing objectives rather than as part of the mechanism for establishing objectives, policies and priorities."

The committee says it found that many witnesses expressed concern about the quantity and in some cases the quality of scientific advice and the readiness with which it was sought. There is a general, serious weakness in British traditions and attitudes towards science and technology and government, it adds.

The lack of opportunity and importance accredited to scientists in the civil service is a major flaw and the committee urges that there should be a major change of attitude to give scientists and engineers more responsibility.

"In the long run this change must be engineered through basic education," the report says. "While recognizing that educational curricula go beyond their terms of reference, the committee believes that there is a strong need for strengthening scientific education in schools and endorses the wish of the Government to extend the teaching of science."

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Aberdeen to set up development trust

een University is to set up a permanent trust to allow for innovation, its principal for George McNicol, has revealed.

Professor McNicol was speaking at a day teach-in organized by the Association of University Students, attended by all campus unions, local MPs and representatives from other universities.

Mr McNicol stressed that the trust was not intended to offset the effects of the cuts, although Aberdeen's second worst hit university. The fund would have objectives which are expected to be revealed at the meeting of the university's general council in the middle of the month.

Professor McNicol said he hoped the trust would be supported by Aberdeen's 25,000 graduates scattered throughout the world, as well as by the local community and industry.

But North Aberdeen Labour MP, Mr Robert Hughes, warned that such a fund could lead to a loss of credibility with the Government cutting the amount of the money raised. He also criticized such a scheme as divisive, since only the universities with facilities which could be used by large companies would benefit.

The Conservative MP for West Aberdeenshire, Sir Russell Fairgrieve, said Aberdeen University was in a unique position with its isolated geographical location, and responsibility to the area, including a high involvement with local health care, and its case for a reduction in cuts should be argued on those grounds.

He added that the universities should unite to fight the manner in which the cuts had been applied by the University Grants Committee. There had to be cuts, he said, but these should be extended from a three year to a five year timescale.

Community links for polys

Mr Fletcher explained that a review was necessary because the London polytechnics had no clear terms of reference and the authority had not defined what was expected.

"We want to develop higher education in line with the needs of the community, the needs of the authority and the needs of the polytechnics," he said.

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Engineering gets priority

by Robin McKie Science Correspondent

The Government has declared that universities must protect engineering teaching during the present round of cuts in higher education. The warning has come from Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary of State for Education, who states that universities must obey the guidelines laid down by the University Grants Committee over the distribution of future finance.

In a letter to Mr Christopher Price MP, chairman of the education select committee, Sir Keith says: Both the UGC and the Government will be seriously concerned if progress towards the rationalization and strengthening of engineering teaching is frustrated by individual universities' decisions not to follow UGC guidance."

The letter acknowledges that some subjects will be particularly vulnerable to cutbacks, especially over the freezing of posts, and engineering - with its high staff turnover to industry - is more threatened than others. However, Sir Keith adds that it would be premature to say UGC advice was being disregarded.

The call for protection for engineering was welcomed this week by Professor Robert Smith, chairman of the Engineering Professors' Conference. "I am delighted that Sir Keith has been able to clarify UGC intentions with regard to engineering, and considers that it should be subject to smaller cuts than other disciplines."

However, Professor Smith pointed out that engineering would still suffer an overall cut of 10 per cent and that there would be an overall reduction in engineering student numbers - a fact acknowledged in Sir Keith's letter.

University applications for 1982 are compared with 73,312 by November 15 1980, and 4,396 from overseas compared with 5,584 last year.

Nearly half the expected total of candidates have now applied and the proportion of women candidates is up again. Women represent 35,835 of the British applications, compared with 31,901 last year.

Overseas student applications drop

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Unit may get council help

by Charlotte Barry

A local authority consortium could come to the rescue of the threatened social services unit at Brunel University when it loses its Government support in 1983.

The idea is being floated following the Department of Health and Social Security's decision to withdraw its £110,000 a year grant. Instead it will only fund specific research projects.

The centre, part of the Brunel Institute of Organisations and Social Studies, has been one of the DHSS research units since 1974. It is concerned with the management, organization and planning of local authority social services departments which approach it for help and advice. In 1978 its brief was extended to include the analysis of decision-making at all levels.

Funding was withdrawn after a review by the Government's chief scientist, which counteracted another external report on the unit's work which claimed that its scientific output justified Government support.

Ms Anthea Hey, a senior research fellow in the unit, said: "The DHSS seems more interested in narrow-based empirical research and is doubly suspicious of action research methods."

Under a consortium, social services departments would take out an annual subscription with the unit in exchange for services such as training on site, advice and a workshop programme. Some of the money would be used to provide core funding for fundamental research which the unit says must continue.

The success of the venture hinges

on the effect of cutbacks in social services departments, which have limited training and development budgets.

Miss Hey said: "If 20 authorities each subscribed £5,000 a year we could make up the rest of the money needed on commercial based courses and consultancies." The unit would still rely on the Social Science Research Council, the DHSS and foundations for the funding of individual research projects.

The advisory panel for the unit, which is headed by Newcastle social services director Mr Brian Roycroft, was meeting this week to discuss the consortium idea. Social services directors have already objected strongly to the DHSS about the withdrawal of the unit's core funding.

Chelsea ranks with the best, say academics

An independent study by eminent academics has refuted criticisms of academic standards at Chelsea College, London. The college senate has been told that the review found that courses would bear comparison with any university institution in the country.

Seven fellows of the Royal Society were included in the team of "acknowledged experts" drawn from outside the University of London. Confidential assessments were carried out on each department, assessors being provided with factual information on courses and past performance as well as visiting the college.

The study was commissioned by the college in response to what it describes as a slur on the college's standards in a discussion document produced by Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer's committee on possible rationalization in the University of London.

Opening a special meeting of the senate, Sir Cyril Phillips, former vice-chancellor of the University of London and independent chairman of a review, said: "Now that I have seen the external validation, you could tell the University Grants Committee and the university how strong these cavalier comments of Sir Swinnerton-Dyer Report were, and should consider making public in some form and with the widest circulation, the burden of the peer review and the high commendations which have come from it."

He added that Chelsea had a unique academic mix. He had been convinced, when he was a member of the UGC, that middle-sized colleges such as Chelsea were the best for students, especially undergraduates.

Dr Charles Phelps, principal of the college, said later: "The results of his exercise - which I believe to be unique in the university world - are



Sir Cyril Phillips: High Commissioner for London.

most satisfying. Several departments emerge as being in the front rank and the rest as fully comparable with most similar departments in other institutions.

"Of course there are criticisms - we could not have expected otherwise. But these are highly constructive. Assessors have suggested possible regroupings of departments or sections, pointed out new areas of work that should be developed while other areas are reduced, and proposed a number of improvements to existing courses."

The review will form the basis of the senate's recommendations for savings of 30 per cent demanded by the UGC.

£130,000 grant for research on deep sea diving device

communications system which will improve safety in diving by being developed by Edinburgh University's Wolfson Microelectronics Institute, backed by a £130,000 grant from the Wolfson Foundation. Deep sea divers must breathe a mixture of gases which is pumped to them through a complex system of hoses and tanks. The device will be a small, portable, microchip-based system which will be the size of a box of chocolates.

The Wolfson Foundation grant will fund development of a system further miniaturized to the size of a matchbox. Linked with a transmitter and receiver unit which would be incorporated in a diver's helmet, this

could produce a direct contact communications system between divers and the control ship or platform.

The device will be commercially available. At present there are around 80 diving complexes in the world which might require ten communications systems each.

Dr David Miles, director of the Wolfson Institute, said the device might be further developed into an underwater "black box" recorder, similar to those used in aircraft.

Strathclyde University is to run a ten week course in the new year on how microcomputers can be used to help disabled people.

Dr Alastair Ward, head of the university's health physics unit, said a new range of very inexpensive systems, some of them spin-offs from space exploration, could give disabled people greater control over their surroundings.

He has produced a system which can perform 32 different tasks in the home, such as controlling telephones, electric fires and televisions, and a similar number of tasks at work.

Firms unable to offer students work

by Sandra Hempel

The recession has caused severe problems for sandwich courses and undermined the need for a more systematic approach to their planning, Mr William Waldegrave, under-secretary for higher education, said last week.

Speaking at a meeting of the Standing Conference on Overseas Placements and Exchanges in London, Mr Waldegrave listed two key long-term questions: How worthwhile was supervised work experience and were education and training properly integrated?

"An unquestioning acceptance of the value of sandwich courses across the wide range of subjects would not be a satisfactory basis on which to ask employers to incur the substantial additional costs of sandwich provision," he said.

"Costs need to be identified and quantified, benefits need to be carefully tested," he added. "The value of integrated sandwich course experience must be tested against vocational and post-experience courses."

New and imaginative courses like the Master of Engineering one at Bath should be tested alongside traditional courses.

A survey of sandwich courses at polytechnics and ten universities showed an estimated 13 per cent shortfall in placements, said Mr Waldegrave.

The survey, commissioned by the Department of Education and Science from the Brunel sandwich course research unit, said that non-degree students in polytechnics were worst hit, with a 21 per cent shortfall, compared with 12 per cent for polytechnic students and 4 per cent for university students.

Poly students' union faces bankruptcy

Middlesex Polytechnic students' union faces bankruptcy by the spring unless it can persuade the governing body or the National Union of Students to bail it out.

The cause of the union's problems is a combination of inherited debts, the cost of maintaining 10 sabbatical posts, and the £30,000 a year loss incurred by its community centre.

Earlier this year the union sold the community centre for £50,000 and reduced its accumulated debt to £20,000 on one fell swoop. It now faces a shortfall of £40,000 and has £20,000 in the bank to last until August.

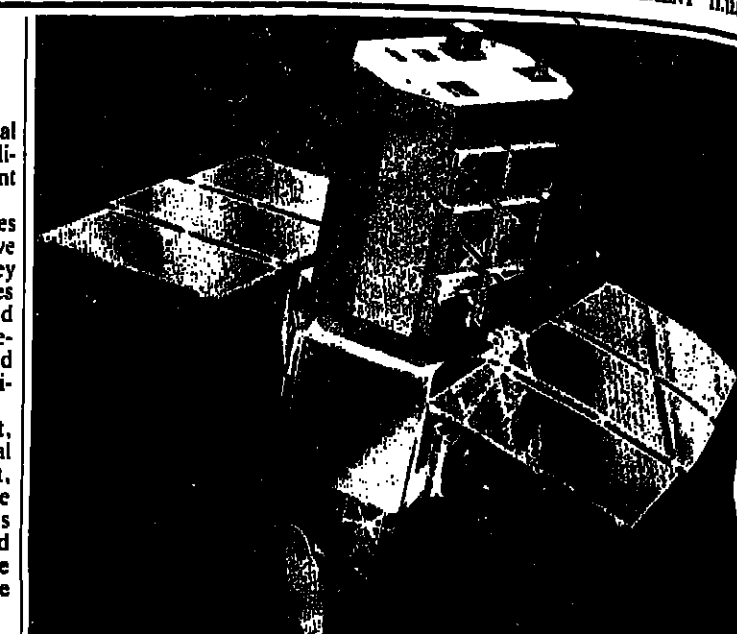
NUS has already refused to help Middlesex by waiving its annual £15,000 fee. The union has now

asked the polytechnic's governing body for an emergency meeting to allow it to appeal for extra funds.

The students will agree that Middlesex Polytechnic's £190,000 annual grant allows far less per student than any other college in the country - £28 per head compared to the national average of £45. But they fear that additional money will only be granted on condition that certain changes are made in the union's constitution, which may threaten its autonomy.

Mr Nick Harvey, Middlesex union student president, said: "Unless somebody bails us out and gives us some more money we will probably be bankrupt by next February."

He added that the present execu-



Sunny outlook for satellite

Scientists at St Andrews University hope that their research using the Solar Maximum Mission satellite can be rescued, despite faults which have developed on the probe.

The United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration has decided to attempt a repair of the satellite using an astronaut flown in the space shuttle. If this is successful, the experiments of the St Andrews

team, led by Dr Eric Priest of the applied mathematics department, and which are carried out in collaboration with the Goddard Space Flight Centre in the US, could begin again.

The satellite was launched to study solar flares which disrupt radio broadcasts and cause spectacular displays such as the northern lights, but ran into difficulties when its guiding system failed.

Europe places space hopes on Ariane rocket launch

by Robin McKie

Science Correspondent

The future independence of European space research will be determined next week when the final, crucial test launch of the Ariane rocket takes place in Guiana, South America.

So far only two of the first three tests of the 150 foot rocket have been successful - the other launch lasting only seconds before a rocket engine failure caused Ariane to crash into the sea.

Next Friday's launch will therefore be a critical test for the European Space Agency which has developed and constructed Ariane. Many of the agency's scientific research plans depend on Ariane launches and its next 16 flights have already been reserved with orders coming from several international groups who want to use the launcher to place meteorological and communications satellites in orbit.

Agency scientists are confident they have traced and repaired the engine fault which caused last year's test flight failure and that the rocket will finally prove Europe's capacity to develop an independent launcher that can place large satellites in high stationary orbits. This type of orbit

allows satellites to hover over one part of the globe which is vital in establishing secure communication systems.

In future, the agency hopes to improve Ariane so it can launch increasingly heavy satellites and to the general cost of placing instruments in space by more than a half. This will be achieved by the Ariane 4 rocket, scheduled for first launch in 1985, and the agency is already considering further developments in an Ariane 5 rocket which would use liquid hydrogen-oxygen fuel mixtures.

These developments will be important if the agency is to carry out its plans to become a major industrial competitor in satellite launching as both America's Space Shuttle and Delta rockets can also provide cheap launches. To improve its commercial opportunities, the agency is to transfer the production and marketing of Ariane in 1983 to Arianespace, in which Britain has slender 24 per cent stake.

The main satellite to be launched by Ariane on Friday will be Mars-1983, which is the first of two maritime communications satellites to be launched by ESA as its contribution to establishing a worldwide shipping communication system.

Mr Harvey would like to reduce the number of sabbatical officers in an attempt to save money, but faces opposition in his own camp. Middlesex has more student sabbatical officers than anyone else in the country, as a result of mergers with local colleges, and they are based on sites scattered all over north London.

SSRC sponsors Brixton riot study

The initiative emerges from the success of earlier work on public disorder and sporting events which was jointly sponsored by the Sports Council and resulted in a major report three years ago.

The council is seeking applications either from academics who would appoint a research officer, or for post-doctoral fellowships in social history, sociology, public order and psychology.

The panel is particularly interested in promoting research into the history of crowd behaviour in the last century and its bearing on contemporary problems; and the analysis of changes in the class structure, and developments in popular culture and leisure pursuits.

Some specialized medical services in Scotland will virtually cease and innovative work to cardiac and neurology be badly damaged as a result of cuts in the funding of university clinical medicine, the principal of Aberdeen University has warned.

Professor George McNicol presented a paper to the conference of Scottish university courts attended by higher education under secretary Mr William Waldegrave. He said that the medical schools at Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow would lose a much higher proportion of hospital-based patient care than in England.

Teaching programmes could not function without a very large contribution from National Health Service staff with honorary university appointments, said Professor McNicol, and this was compensated by the contribution made to patient care by university staff with honorary NHS appointments, who spent from a half to two-thirds of their time looking after patients.

This mix was outstandingly successful, but reductions in funding implied a transfer to the NHS of staff and some part of the teaching and

Electronic report 'too controversial'

by Olga Wojtas

Scottish Correspondent

The Government must redistribute funding and staff within higher education to enable more students to graduate in electronics and computer science, according to a report produced for the development and industry section of the Scottish Council.

The report, by Professor Jeff Collins, head of Edinburgh University's electronic engineering department and Professor Lionel Davis of Paisley College of Technology, has simply been published by the Scottish Council, which finds it too controversial to adopt as policy.

The report states that £1m must be redistributed among Scottish universities alone, and cash penalties imposed by the University Grants Committee if individual universities fail to comply.

It costs £4,500 a year to educate a BSc electronics student, and therefore to increase the output from Scottish universities of only 65 people would need an immediate and continuing annual redistribution of £300,000. An equivalent sum should also be redistributed to computer science, says the report.

It adds that at least £250,000 should be earmarked yearly for re-training engineers already in industry. Continuing education currently falls between several funding bodies, it says, and it should now be the primary concern of the UGC and Scottish Education Department, supported by the Science and Engineering Research Council.

Corrective action was urgent, said Professor Collins, particularly at a

time when vacant posts were not being filled. Posts fell vacant not only through death or retirement, but because of people who were marketable, and the most marketable people were computer scientists who were also desperately needed to produce the next generation of computer scientists.

In Scotland the UGC had broadly recommended an increased intake in maths and the physical sciences, but engineering was "singularly missing." Both professors stressed their report was not a defence against the UGC cuts, but suggesting moves which should have been made a decade ago.

The electronics industry was growing at 8 per cent more than virtually any other sector of the British economy. In Scotland alone, there were more than 200 electronics firms employing around 40,000 people and generating £850m.

Even if action were taken now and there was a substantial increase in intake, it would take four years to produce graduates. Scottish Office projections to 1985 said industry required a 25 per cent increase in university and college BSc graduates but the report dismisses this as ultra conservative, taking no account of the "inherent dynamism of the electronics industry."

The educated sector of society no longer understood the industrialized society in which they lived, said Professor Collins. Few people understood the workings of things like electric lights, car exhaust systems and video cassettes. "People are surrounded by artefacts which are magic to them," he said.

SSRC plan criticized

by Charlotte Barry

Many social scientists are losing faith in the Social Science Research Council and may refuse to cooperate in future, the British Sociological Association has warned.

The association is strongly critical of the council's failure to consult with professional bodies and academics before deciding to change its subject committee structure. It fears the way the decision was handled will damage the good relationships built between professional associations, council officers and committee members.

The association voices its criticism in a statement responding to the council document *A Changing Structure for Changing Circumstances*. This outlined the council's intention to move to a more policy-related approach and replace the 15 subject committees with six multi-disciplinary standing committees.

The BSA statement says: "The moves raised are fundamental to the social sciences, and should not be undertaken into an organizational structure without the fullest discussion."

"The degree of concern is so great that we fear that many of our colleagues in sociology and other disciplines may lose confidence in the council's work and feel unable to cooperate with it in the future," it says.

The association acknowledges that the council's structure needs to change, but is concerned that the proposals will undermine rather than promote the development of social science research.

"This would strengthen current arguments for introducing a pre-registration year or increasing the length of the undergraduate course," it said.

The conference, on dental education, also proposed improvements in practical aspects of courses. This would include more student visits.

Pioneering surgery threatened by cuts

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A place for all 16-19s promised

by Sandra Hempel

A future Labour Government will offer further education and training in the form of student-traineeships to all 16 and 17 year olds, whether in full-time education, at work or unemployed.

Under new proposals in *16 to 19 - Learning for Life*, issued yesterday the Labour Party says a unified, universal, continuing tertiary education, training and employment system for 16-19s must get the highest priority from a future administration.

A major statement on the issue will be made in the New Year but the Government announcement expected before Christmas has prompted the Opposition to release its plans earlier.

Labour says that all young people in full-time education would be student trainees and poor secondary achievers would be encouraged to stay in full-time education after 16. Employers would have a statutory obligation to see that student trainees received education and training but there would be no compulsion to attend college, although most schemes would include day or block release.

The Youth Opportunities Programme would develop within the traineeship system but YOP "must not be seen as cheap labour resulting in job substitution".

"Those in YOP must be allowed to be organized in trade unions and veto any scheme they feel is exploiting young people".

A common assessment system at 16 plus should be open to all, says the Labour Party. The training would be modular-based and would allow young people to transfer between courses and programmes and between part-time and full-time study and to go on to higher levels.

A Tertiary Education Awards Council would be responsible for validation of all courses.

All institutions catering for the age group would form a third stage of tertiary education. Local education authorities would have to ensure that where sixth forms were retained, they offered "a wide range of options at different levels of study in part-time as well as full-time courses" and that there was a policy of open access.

If i.e.a.s want to break with the school system at 16 they must set up tertiary colleges instead of sixth form colleges because the former can also offer part-time and adult courses. Existing sixth form colleges would have to be developed into tertiary colleges.

All young people on full-time courses would get a maintenance allowance with parents on middle and high incomes contributing, possibly through the tax system.

The YOP allowance would be raised and made to go up with increases in average earnings. Those at work would not be taken off the labour market and paid an allowance but continue to get wages negotiated by trade unions.

The Labour Party proposes to set up a board to make sure all relevant government departments and their agencies play their full part. It would be chaired by a Minister with special responsibility for the 16-19s. Local boards would also be set up to coordinate provision.

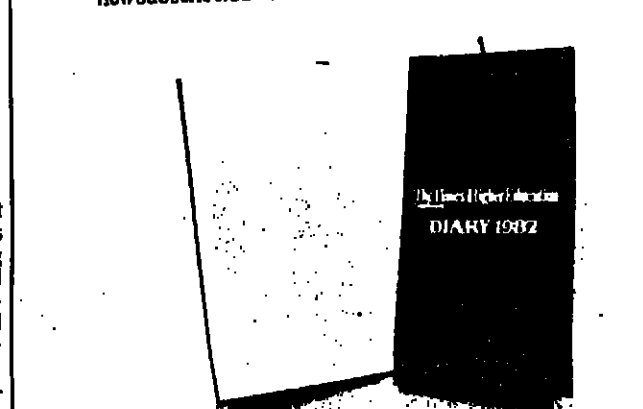
Stirling University faces considerable planning difficulties, says its principal Sir Kenneth Alexander, as a result of a delay in the University Grants Committee response to its proposals for an extended time-scale and more flexibility with student numbers.

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North American news

Researchers hope for defence funding

from Peter David

WASHINGTON
Alarmed by the pace of cuts in federal support for academic science, America's leading research universities are beginning to seek a closer alliance with the relatively prosperous Department of Defence.

The Association of American Universities, which represents the 50 major research institutions in the United States and Canada, expects to hear next month whether the Defence Department will support plans for a closer and more permanent relationship with the universities.

The proposals are outlined in an AAU report submitted in the autumn to the Pentagon's head of science and engineering. They are now being considered by a joint panel of academics and military officials chaired by Dr Ivan Bennett, a member of New York University.

Drawing attention to the "singular contributions" which research universities have already made to America's defence capabilities, the report calls for a big increase in Defence department funding for higher education to compensate for cuts in her sources of research income.

It says: "Universities face serious and growing problems, particularly their facilities, in their research cities and instrumentation, and in their graduate enrolments in certain physical science and engineering disciplines."

"Unless corrective action is taken the department, the nation faces a dangerous erosion of its most important defence resource: our knowledge and manpower base."

The report's major recommendation is that the Defence Department increase the funds it provides for university research by 10 per cent a year for the next four years.

It also calls for closer formal ties between the universities and the Pentagon, and suggests that the Defence Department create a permanent higher education liaison office to oversee university research issues.

and provide a forum for policy discussions.

Other recommendations include the expansion of officer training programmes on university campuses, more exchanges between Pentagon and university scientists and increased Defence Department funding for foreign language and area studies.

The Pentagon panel will respond to the AAU report in January, but it has already signalled its readiness to enlist the aid of the universities in President Reagan's rearmament programme.

Spending by the Defence Department on university research is expected to increase by more than 15 per cent next year despite a probable decline in the Pentagon's overall budget in 1983 and 1984.

But the universities' new interest in the Defence Department has also begun to raise serious difficulties.

The AAU report, while lavishing praise on the Pentagon's overall research management policies, draws attention to "a disturbing tendency within the government generally to control university research more directly."

This is one kind of issue, says the AAU, which can be best resolved

through the creation of a permanent liaison office responsible for university and defence relationships.

The need for a smoother relationship between the universities and the Defence Department has been underscored by a spate of recent incidents in which individual institutions have been angered by government attempts to prevent the transfer of advanced technological ideas overseas.

In the latest clash, Stanford University's satellite planning centre refused to comply with a government request to detail the activities of a visiting scholar from the People's Republic of China.

Mr Gerald Lieberman, dean of research at the university, said that there were 140 Chinese citizens at the university and none of the research conducted at Stanford was secret or classified.

He added: "The campus environment is completely open with no means to prohibit access by foreigners to the broad spectrum of university activities. Even if we had the means to monitor or police the activities of any subgroup of scholars, such actions would drastically disrupt the academic environment which is essential in fostering creative research endeavours."

It is one kind of issue, says the AAU, which can be best resolved

The universities have been particularly concerned by export controls on research imposed by the Commerce, State and Defence Departments under the International Traffic in Arms Regulations and the Export Administration Regulations.

Earlier this year, five leading university presidents warned that rigorous application of the restrictions to universities would undermine the research creativity which the government sought to protect.

On this issue, the universities have at least one supporter in the White House. Dr George Keyworth, President Reagan's science adviser, told the Council of Graduate Schools last week that the administration had not yet established a policy to deal with the problems of technology transfer.

He said that many of the regulations appeared to reflect America's tradition of isolationism and ought to be liberalized - except in the case of research which was classified or, like cryptography, so specialized that its principal application was to defence matters.

"Creativity is very easy to constrain and only flourishes when it is given the greatest possible freedom," he said.

Firms not prepared to step in

from our north American editor

University leaders were warned last week that it would be unrealistic to expect business and industry to compensate for the reductions in government spending on higher education.

In a review of business donations to education, Mr John Haire, president of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, said that business corporations last year contributed only just over one per cent of the total budgets of higher education institutions.

Mr Haire was addressing the annual meeting of the Council of Graduate Schools in Washington. He said that corporations gave more money to education than any other area, but advised against unrealistic expectations about increased donations by the corporate sector.

He continued: "The first point to be made is that the best estimate of total corporate contributions for all purposes in 1981 is \$3,000m. This sum is tiny in comparison to the level of spending by the federal government for similar programmes, and it is relatively small in comparison to the amounts that are being cut from the federal budget in the four years ending in 1984."

Donations by corporations were relatively more important to higher education, since they accounted for 18 per cent of the total voluntary support to colleges and universities in 1979-80. But in relation to the overall higher education budget, corporate aid accounted to just over one per cent, he said.

"None of these figures should be interpreted to mean that corporate giving is not important or not significant. Clearly it is needed and welcome, and in many instances it makes the difference between mediocrity and excellence, especially in higher education."

"But business corporations are not by nature funding agencies; they exist to make money, not to give it away."

Mr Haire said that in the 30 years since his council was set up by five business corporations, money had been flowing in ever greater quantities from companies to colleges and universities.

"This flow has increased from \$43m to over \$1,000m in 30 years, a rate of growth which is faster than the corporate profits, faster than the gross national product and faster than corporate giving in total."

Many companies had become increasingly worried about the drift of academic staff away from higher education and into more lucrative positions in industry. As a result, some corporations had invested heavily in programmes designed to encourage talented scholars to remain in academic careers.

Recent initiatives of this kind included a fellowship and faculty support scheme, worth \$1m a year, launched last spring by the Eastman Kodak company. Two months ago the Exxon Corporation announced a similar programme worth \$15m over five years, and last month the Atlantic Richfield Foundation announced a four-year \$5m programme to support postgraduate students in science and engineering at 30 universities.

Other companies involved in similar kinds of support included Dupont, Shell, Rockwell International, Phillips Petroleum, Amoco and General Electric. Mr Haire said: "But he added: 'We do have one concern in this area. Too much of this effort is being targeted at up and coming scientists and engineers, and similar subjects have an obvious relevance to manufacturing industries.'"

"While we would like to see similar efforts targeted to the social sciences, the humanities and other areas, we are not sanguine about the feasibility of fellowships in English literature or philosophy to corporate management."

Overseas news

Singlemindedness and the Irish woman academic

from John Walshe

DUBLIN
The new registrar of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr Eda Sagarra, is probably the first woman senior college officer appointed by a university in the Republic.

Her appointment coincides with a survey carried out by the Irish Federation of University Teachers which shows that there are still relatively few women academic staff members in Irish universities; the majority of these women are in the lecturer and junior lecturers posts.

The worst offender is the country's largest educational institution - University College, Dublin - which has almost 10,000 full-time students.

The survey shows that two years ago only 67 out of a total of 476 academic staff were women; there were three women professors or associate professors compared with

107 male professors, there were 27 female college lecturers and nearly one-third of the assistant lecturers were women. Eighty-nine per cent of the female academics were teaching in arts or science.

Trinity College was not very different - 44 female academics out of a total of 282. Dr Sagarra, who was appointed professor of German in 1975, was one of the handful of women to reach professorial rank.

Proportionately, St Patrick's College, Maynooth - combining a civil university and seminary for training priests - was better with a quarter of its staff women, but the numbers involved were small - 11 out of 36 academics and no women at professorial level.

The number of women students has increased substantially in recent years - at the time of the survey, there were 10,041 female and 12,844

male students in the republic's universities.

The federation says it is not possible to establish, from the data available, whether the preponderance of women in the lower academic teaching grades reflects an increase in the recent recruitment of women or whether it is due to slower promotion of women staff.

The union says there is also some cause for disquiet, in view of the consistent increases in the number of women undergraduates, in the apparent lack of participation by women graduates in postgraduate study.

Dr Sagarra says that ritual indignation is often expressed about the small number of women holding senior academic posts in the Republic, but, reasons for this, apart from the male conspiracy theory, are not often sought.

Promotion to chairs, associate pro-

fessorships, statutory or senior lectureships generally presupposes up to 20 years or more of undergraduate study research and teaching.

"There were also many other constraints and pressures - financial: we need the money for the boy's education; psychological: 'blue stocking' and social which operated against women entering the profession," she said.

Constraints and pressures still exist although they are different and, as a whole less than a generation ago. However, it is still difficult for women to combine a full academic career with meeting family obligations.

"A certain singlemindedness is necessary for this. Public opinion generally calls this dedication; in the case of women, however, it is frequently labelled egotistic or even odd."



Dr Sagarra: 'frequently labelled odd'

Fire cadets' protest provides flashpoint

The police attack on the Fire Service College in Warsaw came at a moment when tensions in academic circles were high. For a month students throughout Poland had been protesting against the appointment of a new rector at the Radom Technical College - an appointment, which, they said, had not followed the new democratic procedures.

By the end of last week, when a new election was promised, more than 70 out of Poland's 90 universities and higher colleges were involved in some form of protest, whether sit-ins or "active strikes".

The weekly newspaper *Polityka*, whose chief editor, Mieczyslaw Balowski, became deputy minister late last year, devoted a major article to the striking students at Warsaw Polytechnic, their demands, and the day-to-day management of the protest.

In the Lublin area teachers and lecturers have been on strike alert, demanding changes in the methods of teaching history, literature and similar sensitive subjects. New legislation is now before the Sejm (Parliament) on teachers' rights. Duties and conditions of work is already causing much controversy.

Another new Bill, on the Polish Academy of Sciences will be the main subject of debate at the academy's annual meeting this month. According to Solidarity members within the academy, major issues will include recent demands that the various institutes of the academy be given parity in funding and status with those belonging to the various "production" ministries - agriculture, mining etc.

There are also likely to be moves to reduce the academy's bureaucracy (the top floors of the Warsaw Palace of Culture are at present crowded with Academy officials, many of whom have little direct connection with higher learning) and to change the status of the academy's Learned Secretary, who at present has quasi-ministerial rank and is accountable to the Prime Minister, and not simply to his fellow-academics.

The new higher education bill, following the strikes threats last September, has now gone before a special Parliamentary Committee in the form agreed by the academics, but

with a special commentary voicing the view-point of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology. The credibility of proposed amendments took a sharp knock in October, during the medical applicants sit-in, when the ministers of science and health announced that they could do nothing to help the would-be students who had failed to gain admission to Medical School, since the numbers admitted must be decided by the relevant rectors.

It is this new higher education Bill which triggered off the fire service cadets sit-in. A lot of the students and lecturers at the college demanded further amendments to the Bill, which would remove the college from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The ministry maintained, however, that fire service training in every country takes a paramilitary form, refused to discuss the proposed changes, and, with 95 per cent of the students and at least 30 per cent of the lecturers involved in the strike, on 30 November declared the college closed.

The cadets and lecturers promptly organized their own courses and continued to occupy the building. The Ministry of Internal Affairs then submitted a proposal to the Cabinet that a "new" Main School of the Fire Services should be set up and cadets who voluntarily abandoned the sit-in were promised enrolment. When only a few left, the ministry sent in its new strong-arm squad.

The protests which followed came not only from Solidarity and the Independent Students Association (NZS), but also the youth wing of the Democratic Party, an ally of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party and the regular police. The latter described the perpetrators of the attack as a "special group for the actions directed against Polish society".

Meanwhile, in Britain, the event triggered its own set of protests. A slip of the tongue by BBC's Tim Sebastian, who referred to the police action as being carried out by an "anti-terrorist squad", was hotly protested by the Society of Polish Students and Graduates in Great Britain and by young people from the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

Backdated pay rise causes extra problems

from Geoff Maslen

MELBOURNE
Academics in Australia's universities and colleges of Advanced Education have been awarded a 10 per cent pay rise by a government tribunal, backdated to November last year. If the federal government approves the rise, but refuses to provide the extra money, universities and colleges could face a multi-million dollar shortfall in their funding and the prospect of a freeze on hundreds of jobs.

Universities around the country are already refusing to fill vacancies

as they occur in certain faculties. The University of Queensland, for example, has decided not to fill the positions of six professors, five lecturers, four senior lecturers, six lecturers and 18 tutors. Some of the posts will be permanently dropped while others will be frozen until the financial situation improves.

At the University of Adelaide and the Australian National University a range of fixed-tenure and continuing positions have been frozen and hundreds of lecturers and other academic staff face the prospect of

not being rehired when their contracts expire in 1983.

At one of Australia's largest universities - the University of New South Wales, the vice-chancellor has told his staff that the university would need more than A\$100m in recurrent funds to maintain operations in 1982. But the federal government has allocated less than A\$100m. The academic year also would add seriously to the university's financial problems unless the government agreed to meet the increased costs.

Teachers protest over government policies

by Charles Parr

Nigeria's university teachers have all gone on strike. Students were sent home when they reported in late September. The campuses are strangely silent and empty, save for small groups of dons. Officially they are on site to do research, but teaching is totally banned, and has so been for more than two months.

It is not their salaries that are at issue (although university non-academic administrators were recently up-graded to levels that the dons find personally insulting). Increased salaries for all grades were recently announced.

Instead the academics are fighting for funds to improve the quality of the university environment. The government's policy is expansion, and more and more campuses are being created. But the minimal funding necessary for the maintenance of the

existing universities is not forthcoming. The academic's feel that available funds should be concentrated on improving standards rather than expansion.

They maintain that the quality of academic activities is deteriorating deplorably. Expensive equipment cannot be maintained, libraries cannot be kept up to date, there are frequent power cuts and often there is no water. Teaching takes place in cramped and unsuitable conditions, and there is a lack of funds for the most pressing maintenance work.

Recently the government initiated a salary survey which would lead to a 10 per cent increase. Unlike the majority of university teachers in Britain, many Nigerian dons expect to be able to command attractive salaries by taking posts in industry or commerce, and it remains to be seen whether their universities will crumble by the loss of their best people.

Fifty lose out on placements

from Stephen Taylor

SALISBURY
A final total of 222 Zimbabwean students who completed their A levels this summer have obtained places at institutions of higher education in Britain.

This disclosure, by the British Council, concludes an episode which caused confusion in Salisbury and London and led to a final scramble for places when work had been under way for some weeks at universities and colleges.

The issue of who among almost 900 Zimbabweans studying for their A levels in Britain this year was chosen for further study under the grant of £5m provided by Britain was at the root of the problem.

Two separate lists of students were drawn up by the ministries of education and manpower here and became the subject of a dispute between them.

When, after considerable negotiation, it was agreed that all the names on both lists could go ahead with their studies there had been weeks of delay. The academic year had started and many students were still without places.

The British Council here and in London set up an emergency group to get in touch with universities and colleges in Britain and persuade them to accept the late starters.

Finally all but 60 of those who were entitled to study places were accommodated. There are hopes that a further 10 will be placed on a course starting in January on financial management which will lead to a degree course in September.

The fate of the remaining 50 is uncertain. The £5m will not cover their studies as well and unless aid is increased or the Zimbabwe government meets the cost they will not be able to study further in Britain.

More students detained

from Craig Charney

JOHANNESBURG
The National Union of South African Students held its 52nd annual congress in a defiant mood, despite the detention of more students in the continuing state crackdown on radical activity.

The union, to which the student bodies of four of the five English/medium universities are affiliated, re-affirmed the left-wing stance dominant since the mid-1970s in a five day conference in Cape Town.

For instance, while the recent report of the Delange Commission on education was widely seen as too liberal to suit the authorities, the NUSAS congress condemned it as a mere attempt to slot blacks into vacant jobs while keeping intact the structure of South African society.

A similar criticism was made in a resolution on the recently-enacted Vista University Bill, which will create separate "Township Colleges" for urban blacks to complement the "Bush Colleges" now open in the rural areas. For the first time in 12 years, a black student leader spoke at the congress, Mr Joe Pahlia, the president of the Azanian students organization.

However, the congress rejected international contact for its own sake, spurning overtures from the multi-racial South African Youth Foundation, set up by the Conservative Afrikaans Student Bond and the Black Inkatha Youth Brigade.

The congress also pledged solidarity with students held in police detention, in a resolution given added timelessness by fresh police action. Three days before congress opened, security police detained three Johannesburg students, Miss Debbie Elkon, Mr Piroz Cachalia, and Mr Colin Purkey, as part of a large crackdown on dissidents.

College suspends students

from P. E. Burke

The largest junior college in the United States has suspended 8,000 students in an effort to raise academic standards. Only 1,000 have been told that they may be taken back next year if they improve their academic record.

Explaining his decision, Dr Robert McCabe, principal of the Miami Dade College, said that the enrolment of ill-educated or functionally illiterate students would be the downfall of junior and community colleges.

"The combination of lower entering skills and the need for strong academic standards has created a situation where community colleges specially are set up for failure," he said.

"Unless we begin to adopt more reasonable policies the 'open door' is letting in people who look like they are risks."

Prior to Dr McCabe's action, students at Miami Dade were permitted to move at their own pace, in

whichever direction they wanted and for as long as they wanted. The college has 43,000 credit-seeking students and a further 20,000 taking non-credit courses.

Dr McCabe said: "I think we have reached the point where we want to give the chance for people to catch up and we are going to do everything that we can to help them. But we are going to say at a point, 'that is it and we have done everything we can and we cannot help you'."

To enter Miami Dade students must have a high school diploma, but once they have been enrolled and are tested in reading, writing and mathematics. Entrants found deficient in any of the three areas must take development courses before starting the general curriculum.

About half the students in the college fall into that category. "It is running about 40 per cent on reading and writing, and about 60 per cent in mathematics. I think that shows where the problems are," concluded Dr McCabe.

Grants system in trouble

New and tighter procedures for students seeking grants are to be put before Congress following evidence that the government has been overpaying students to the tune of \$340m a year.

Announcing the findings of a survey commissioned by the Department of Education, Education Secretary Terrell Bell said that he was determined to overhaul the application procedures for Pell grants, the major student grant programme administered by the federal government.

"The findings of this study confirm our suspicion that far too many Pell grant recipients are receiving incorrect amounts. The root of the problem is that unlike most other need-based federal programmes, we generally accept on faith the information provided by students and parents on student aid applications," he said.

The study was designed to discover the rate of error in Pell awards in the 1980-81 academic year, when

\$2,400m were distributed through the scheme to 2.7 million university and college students.

More than 300 college aid offices were asked to verify the applications and awards of a sample of 4,000 Pell recipients. The results, projected nationally, showed that \$340m had been overpaid to students and \$51m underpaid.

"The vast prevalence of over-awarding is proof that we must strengthen dramatically our procedures for verifying the accuracy of student information," Mr Bell said.

One option being explored immediately was the possibility of checking grant applications with federal income tax returns. In the longer term, the application procedures are to be simplified and the sample verified will be increased.

Dr Bell added: "The changes we have targeted for 1983-84 will require legislative amendments and we will submit our proposals to Congress in the near future."

Malaysians flock for cheaper study

Malaysian students, who once regarded Britain as the country to which they turned naturally for higher education, appear to have shifted their loyalty.

A census of overseas students published this week by the New York based International Education Exchange reveals that the number of Malaysians studying in the United States jumped by over 64 per cent last year - the biggest increase of any national group.

The census reports that in 1979-80 there were only 3,660 Malaysian students, by 1980-81 the number had increased to 6,010.

Other big increases were in students from Indonesia (33.2 per cent); Greece (25 per cent); Jordan (30.1 per cent); Vietnam (28.5 per cent) and Korea (25.8 per cent).

Scientific team expected to advise Reagan

President Reagan is expected to prove a proposal to create a national committee of eminent scientists to advise the White House on the development of a national science policy.

The proposal has been drawn up by Dr George Keyworth, the president's science adviser, and a list of 15 possible members has been omitted for approval to White House chief of staff Mr Ed Meese. Creation of the committee is seen part of a campaign by the administration to reaffirm its belief in the importance of scientific research during the recent cuts in federal funding.

Dr Keyworth told a conference of depute schools in Washington last week that President Reagan recognised the importance of research to

the nation's economic health, and the government was determined to continue its support.

"It is a cornerstone of United States science policy that quality basic research and the education of our future scientists and engineers be adequately supported," he said.

If Dr Keyworth's proposal is approved, it will be the first time a presidential advisory committee on science has existed since President Nixon disbanded the President's Science Advisory Committee in 1973.

Unlike that committee, the proposed board will report to Dr Keyworth and not directly to the president. It will, however, meet more than once a month and is expected to become a powerful national focus for scientific planning.

The proposal for the advisory

committee has been warmly received by the scientific community. Dr Frank Press, president of the National Academy of Sciences and former science adviser to President Carter, said it was "a good idea."

A conference organized by the academy two months ago and attended by high-ranking scientists and university administrators also called for a stronger government policy on science.

Peter David
North American Editor,
The Times Higher Education
Supplement,
National Press Building,
Room 541,
Washington, DC 20045.
Telephone: (202) 639 8765.

North American news

Researchers hope for defence funding

from Peter David

WASHINGTON
Alarmed by the pace of cuts in federal support for academic science, America's leading research universities are beginning to seek a closer alliance with the relatively prosperous Department of Defence.

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The proposals are outlined in an AAU report submitted in the autumn to the Pentagon's head of science and engineering. They are now being considered by joint panels of academics and military officials chaired by Dr Ivan Bennett, a member of New York University.

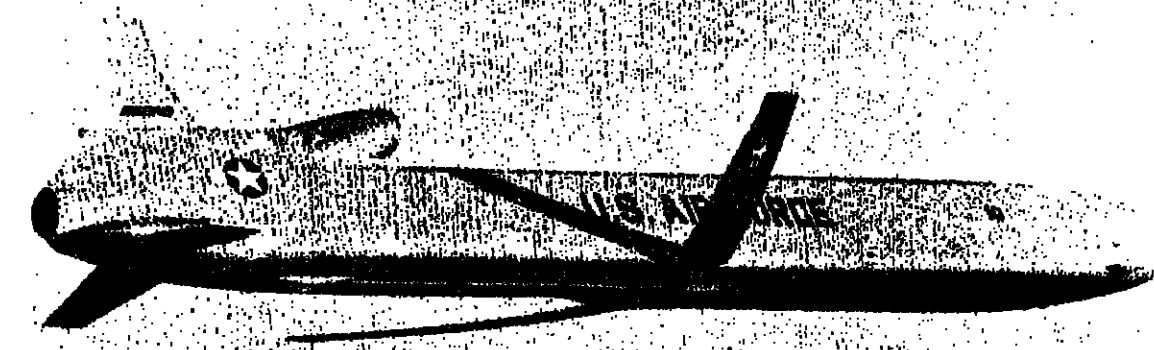
Drawing attention to the "singular contributions" which research universities have already made to America's defence capabilities, the report calls for a big increase in Defence Department funding for higher education to compensate for cuts in other sources of research income.

It says: "Universities face serious and growing problems, particularly in their facilities, in their research facilities and instrumentation, and in their graduate enrolments in certain critical science and engineering disciplines."

"Unless corrective action is taken by the department, the nation faces dangerous erosion of its most important defence resource: our knowledge and manpower base."

The report's major recommendation is that the Defence Department increase the funds it provides for university research by 10 per cent a year for the next four years.

It also calls for closer formal ties between the universities and the Pentagon, and suggests that the Defence Department create a permanent higher education liaison office to oversee university research issues



The cruise missile is one of the more deadly products of defence research.

and provide a forum for policy discussions.

Other recommendations include the expansion of officer training programmes on university campuses, more exchanges between Pentagon and university scientists and increased Defence Department funding for foreign language and area studies.

The Pentagon panel will respond to the AAU report in January, but it has already signalled its readiness to enlist the aid of the universities in President Reagan's rearmament programme.

Spending by the Defence Department on university research is expected to increase by more than 15 per cent next year despite a probable decline in the Pentagon's overall budget in 1983 and 1984.

But the universities' new interest in the Defence Department has also begun to raise serious difficulties.

The AAU report, while lavishing praise on the Pentagon's overall research management policies, draws attention to "a disturbing tendency within the government generally to control university research more directly."

This is one kind of issue, says the AAU, which can be best resolved

through the creation of a permanent liaison office responsible for university and defence relationships.

The need for a smoother relationship between the universities and the Defence Department has been underscored by a spate of recent incidents in which individual institutions have been angered by government attempts to prevent the transfer of advanced technological ideas overseas.

In the latest clash, Stanford University's satellite planning centre refused to comply with a government request to detail the activities of a visiting scholar from the People's Republic of China.

Mr Gerald Lieberman, dean of research at the university, said that there were 140 Chinese citizens at the university and none of the research conducted at Stanford was secret or classified.

He added: "The campus environment is completely open with no means to prohibit access by foreigners to the broad spectrum of university activities. Even if we had the means to monitor or police the activities of any subgroup of scholars, such actions would drastically disrupt the academic environment which is essential in fostering creative research endeavours."

The universities have been particularly concerned by export controls on research imposed by the Commerce, State and Defence Departments under the International Traffic in Arms Regulations and the Export Administration Regulations.

Earlier this year, five leading university presidents warned that rigorous application of the restrictions to universities would undermine the research creativity which the government sought to protect.

On this issue, the universities have at least one supporter in the White House. Dr George Keyworth, President Reagan's science adviser, told the Council of Graduate Schools last week that the administration had not yet established a policy to deal with the problems of technology transfer.

He said that many of the regulations appeared to reflect America's tradition of isolationism and ought to be liberalized - except in the case of research which was classified or, like cryptography, so specialized that its principal application was to defence matters.

"Creativity is very easy to constrain and only flourishes when it is given the greatest possible freedom," he said.

Firms not prepared to step in

from our north American editor

University leaders were warned last week that it would be unrealistic to expect business and industry to compensate for the reductions in government spending on higher education.

In a review of business donations to education, Mr John Haire, president of the Council for Financial Aid to Education, said that business corporations last year contributed only just over one per cent of the total budgets of higher education institutions.

Mr Haire was addressing the annual meeting of the Council of Graduate Schools in Washington. He said that corporations gave more money to education than any other area, but advised against unrealistic expectations about increased donations by the corporate sector.

He continued: "The first point to be made is that the best estimate of total corporate contributions for all purposes in 1981 is \$3,000m. This sum is tiny in comparison to the level of spending by the government for similar programmes, and it is relatively small in comparison to the amounts that are being cut from the federal budget in the four years ending in 1984."

Donations by corporations were relatively more important to higher education, since they accounted for 18 per cent of the total voluntary support to colleges and universities in 1979-80. But in relation to the overall higher education budget, corporate aid accounted to just one per cent, he said.

"None of these figures should be interpreted to mean that corporate giving is not important or not significant. Clearly it is needed and welcome, and in many instances makes the difference between mediocrity and excellence, especially in higher education."

"But business corporations are not by nature funding agencies: they exist to make money, not to give it away."

Mr Haire said that in the 30 years since his council was set up by five business corporations, money had been flowing in ever greater quantities from companies to colleges and universities.

"This flow has increased from \$43m to over \$1,000m in 30 years, a rate of growth which is faster than corporate profits, faster than the gross national product and faster than corporate giving in total."

Many companies had become increasingly worried about the drift of academic staff away from higher education and into more lucrative positions in industry. As a result, some corporations had invested heavily in programmes designed to encourage talented scholars to remain in academic careers.

Recent initiatives of this kind included a fellowship and faculty support scheme, worth \$1m a year, launched last spring by the Eastman Kodak company. Two months ago the Exxon Corporation announced a similar programme worth \$15m over five years, and last month the Atlantic Richfield Foundation announced a four-year \$5m programme to support postgraduate students in science and engineering at 30 universities.

Other companies involved in similar kinds of support included Dupont, Shell, Rockwell International, Phillips Petroleum, Amoco and General Electric.

But he added: "We do have one concern in this area. Too much of this effort is being targeted at too few disciplines. Engineering, chemistry, physics, computer science and similar subjects have an obvious relevance to manufacturing industries."

"While we would like to see similar efforts targeted to the social sciences, the humanities and other areas, we are not sanguine about the feasibility of fellowships in English literature or philosophy to corporate management."

Overseas news

Singlemindedness and the Irish woman academic

from John Walsh

DUBLIN

The new registrar of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr Eda Sagarra, is probably the first woman senior college officer appointed by a university in the Republic.

Her appointment coincides with a survey carried out by the Irish Federation of University Teachers which shows that there are still relatively few women academic staff members in Irish universities; the majority of these women are in the lecturer and junior lecturership posts.

The worst offenders in the country's largest educational institution - University College Dublin - which has almost 10,000 full-time students.

The survey shows that two years ago only 67 out of a total of 476 academic staff were women; there were three women professors or associate professors compared with

107 male professors, there were 27 female college lecturers and nearly one-third of the assistant lecturers were women. Eighty-nine per cent of the female academics were teaching in arts or science.

Trinity College was not very different - 44 female academics out of a total of 282. Dr Sagarra, who was appointed professor of German in 1975, was one of the handful of women to reach professorial rank.

Proportionately, St Patrick's College, Maynooth - combining a civil university and seminary for training priests - was better with a quarter of its staff women, but the numbers involved were small - 11 out of 36 academics and no women at professorial level.

The number of women students has increased substantially in recent years - at the time of the survey, there were 10,041 female and 12,844

male students in the republic's universities.

The federation says it is not possible to establish, from the data available, whether the preponderance of women in the lower academic teaching grades reflects an increase in the recent recruitment of women or whether it is due to slower promotion of women staff.

The union says there is also some cause for disquiet, in view of the consistent increases in the number of women undergraduates, in the apparent lack of participation by women graduates in postgraduate study.

Dr Sagarra says that ritual indignation is often expressed about the small number of women holding senior academic posts in the Republic, but, reasons for this, apart from the male conspiracy theory, are not often sought.

Promotion to chairs, associate pro-

fessorships, statutory or senior lectureships generally presupposes up to 20 years or more of undergraduate study research and teaching.

"There were also many other constraints and pressures - financial: 'we need the money for the boy's education'; psychological: 'blue stocking' and social which operated against women entering the profession," she said.

Constraints and pressures still exist although they are different and, as a whole less than a generation ago. However, it is still difficult for women to combine a full academic career with meeting family obligations.

"A certain singlemindedness is necessary for this. Public opinion generally calls this dedication; in the case of women, however, it is frequently labelled egotistic or even odd."



Dr Sagarra: 'frequently labelled odd'

Fire cadets' protest provides flashpoint

from K. H. Gruber

A bomb threat which forced Austria's Minister of Higher Education, Frau Dr Froberg, to cancel the festive opening of a new university building at Innsbruck University was the climax of an unusually turbulent term in Austria's universities.

At the centre of the anger and unrest are an amendment to the Higher Education Act passed by Parliament in July and the timing of the implementing ministerial decree.

Only at the beginning of the term students became aware of the substantial changes in their courses of study.

● The period within which examinations can be (re-)taken will be limited;

● New syllabuses will come into force in all the arts and science subjects even without the approval of the departments concerned;

● Certain types of lectures may take place during holidays;

● Students on teacher training courses will have to participate in teaching practice the organization of which is still unknown both to the students and the universities.

Unimpressed by a nationwide one-day lecture boycott organized by the National Student Union, the minister, an energetic lady of 70 and one of Chancellor Kreisky's longest serving cabinet members, pointed out that Austria's policies of access to higher education were among the most liberal in Europe (- there is no *numerus clausus* -) but that the country could no longer afford the leisurely approach many students seem to have with regard to studies.

And right into the face of students demands for a U-turn she added that the considered the expensive facilities and resources of higher education grossly underused, and that by "rearranging the academic year", ie by changing over from the present two semesters to three terms the teaching capacity of the university sector could be increased by 50 per cent. This would of course imply the slaughtering of the students' holiest cow, the long summer vacation.

Meanwhile, in Britain, the event triggered its own set of protests. A slip of the tongue by BBC's Tim Sebastian, who referred to the police action as being carried out by an "anti-terrorist squad", was hotly protested by the Society of Polish Students and Graduates in Great Britain and by young people from the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

The new higher education bill, following the strike threats last September, has now gone before a special Parliamentary Committee in the form agreed by the academics, but

with a special commentary voicing the view-point of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology. The credibility of proposed amendments took a sharp knock in October, during the medical applicants sit-in, when the ministers of science and health announced that they could do nothing to help the would-be students who had failed to gain admission to Medical School, since the numbers admitted must be decided by the relevant rectors.

It is this new higher education Bill which triggered off the fire service cadets sit-in. A lot of the students and lecturers at the college demanded further amendments to the Bill, which would remove the college from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The ministry maintained, however, that fire service training in every country takes a paramilitary form, refused to discuss the proposed changes, and, with 95 per cent of the students and at least 30 per cent of the lecturers involved in the strike, on 30 November declared the college closed.

The cadets and lecturers promptly organized their own courses and continued to occupy the building. The Ministry of Internal Affairs then submitted a proposal to the Cabinet that a "new" Fire School of the Fire Service should be set up and cadets who voluntarily abandoned the sit-in were promised enrolment. When only a few left, the ministry sent in its new strong-arm squad.

The protests which followed came not only from Solidarity and the Independent Students Association (NZS), but also the youth wing of the Democratic Party, an ancillary of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party and the regular police. The latter described the perpetrators of the attack as a "special group for the actions directed against Polish society".

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Turbulent term for Austria

from K. H. Gruber

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Teachers protest over government policies

by Charles Parr

Nigeria's university teachers have all gone on strike. Students were sent home when they reported in late September. The campuses are strangely silent and empty, save for small groups of dons. Officially they are on site to do research, but teaching is totally banned, and has so been for more than two months.

It is not their salaries that are at issue (although university non-academic administrators were recently upgraded to levels that the dons find personally insulting). Increased salaries for all grades were recently announced.

Instead the academics are fighting for funds to improve the quality of the university environment. The government's policy is expansion, and more and more campuses are being created. But the minimal funding necessary for the maintenance of the

existing universities is not forthcoming. The academics' feel that available funds should be concentrated on improving standards rather than expansion.

They maintain that the quality of academic activities is deteriorating deplorably. Expensive equipment cannot be kept up to date, there are frequent power cuts and often there is no water. Teaching takes place in cramped and unsuitable conditions, and there is a lack of funds for the most pressing maintenance work.

Recently the government intimated that salaries would cease to be paid. Unlike the majority of university teachers in Britain, many Nigerian dons expect to be able to command attractive salaries by taking posts in industry or commerce, and it remains to be seen whether their universities will crumble by the loss of their best people.

Salisbury

A final total of 222 Zimbabwean students who completed their A-levels this summer have obtained places at institutions of higher education in Britain.

This disclosure, by the British Council, concludes an episode which caused confusion in Salisbury and London and led to a final scramble for places when work had been under way for some weeks at universities and colleges.

The issue of who among almost 900 Zimbabweans studying for their A-levels in Britain this year was chosen for further study under the grant of £5m provided by Britain was at the root of the problem.

Two separate lists of students were drawn up by the ministries of education and manpower here and became the subject of a dispute between them.

When, after considerable negotiation, it was agreed that all the names on both lists could go ahead with their studies there had been weeks of delay. The academic year had started and many students were still without places.

The British Council here and in London set up an emergency group to get in touch with universities and colleges in Britain and persuade them to accept the late starters.

Finally all but 60 of those who were entitled to study places were accommodated. There are hopes that a further 10 will be placed on a course starting in January on financial management which will lead to a degree course in September.

The fate of the remaining 50 is uncertain. The £5m will not cover their studies as well and unless aid is increased or the Zimbabwe government meets the cost they will not be able to study further in Britain.

More students detained

from Craig Charney

JOHANNESBURG
The National Union of South African Students held its 52nd annual congress in a defiant mood, despite the detention of more students in the continuing state crackdown on radical activity.

The union, to which the student bodies of four of the five English-medium universities are affiliated, re-affirmed the left-wing stance dominant since the mid-1970s in a five day conference in Cape Town.

For instance, while the recent report of the Delange Commission on education was widely seen as too liberal to suit the authorities, the NUSAS congress condemned it as a mere attempt to slot blacks into vacant jobs while keeping intact the structure of South African society.

A similar criticism was made in a resolution on the recently-enacted Vista University Bill, which will create separate "Township Colleges" for urban blacks to complement the "Bush Colleges" now open in the rural areas. For the first time in 12 years, a black student leader spoke at the congress. Mr Joe Panha, the president of the Azanian students organization.

However, the congress rejected inter-racial contact for its own sake, spurning overtures from the multi-racial South African Youth Foundation, set up by the Conservative Afrikaans Student Bond and the Black Inkatha Youth Brigade.

The congress also pledged solidarity with students held in police detention, in a resolution given added timelessness by fresh police action. Three days before congress opened, security police detained three Johannesburg students - Miss Debbie Elkon, Mr Firoz Cachalia, and Mr Colin Purkey, as part of a large crackdown on dissidents.

College suspends students

from P. E. Burke

The largest junior college in the United States has suspended 8,000 students in an effort to raise academic standards. Only 1,000 have been told that they may be taken back next year if they improve their basic education.

Explaining his decision, Dr Robert McCabe, principal of the Miami Dade college, said that the enrolment of ill-educated or functionally illiterate students would be the downfall of junior and community colleges.

"The combination of lower entering skills and the need for strong academic standards has created a situation where community colleges especially are set up for failure," he said.

"Unless we begin to adopt some reasonable policies the 'open door' is not letting in people who look like they are risks."

Prior to Dr McCabe's action, students at Miami Dade were permitted to move at their own pace, in

whichever direction they wanted and for as long as they wanted. The college has 43,000 credit-seeking students and a further 20,000 taking non-credit courses.

Dr McCabe said: "I think we have reached the point where we want to give the chance for people to catch up and we are going to do everything that we can to help them. But we are going to say at a point, 'that is it and we have done everything we can and we cannot help you'."

To enter Miami Dade students must have a high school diploma, but once they have been enrolled they are tested in reading, writing and mathematics. Entrants found deficient in any of the three areas must take development courses before starting the general curriculum. About half the students in the college fall into that category.

"It is running about 40 per cent on reading and writing, and about 60 per cent in mathematics. I think that shows where the problems are," concluded Dr McCabe.

Grants system in trouble

New and tighter procedures for students seeking grants are to be put before Congress following evidence that the government has been overpaying students to the tune of \$340m a year.

Announcing the findings of a survey commissioned by the Department of Education, Education Secretary Terrell Bell said that he was determined to overhaul the application procedures for Pell grants, the major student grant programme administered by the federal government.

"The findings of this study confirm our suspicion that far too many Pell grant recipients are receiving incorrect amounts. The root of the problem is that unlike most other need-based federal programmes, we generally accept on faith the information provided by students and parents on student aid applications," he said.

The study was designed to discover the rate of error in Pell awards in the 1980-81 academic year, when

\$2,400m were distributed through the scheme to 2.7 million university and college students.

More than 300 college aid offices were asked to verify the applications and awards of a sample of 4,000 Pell recipients. The results, projected nationally, showed that \$340m had been overpaid to students and \$51m underpaid.

"The vast prevalence of over-awarding is proof that we must strengthen dramatically our procedures for verifying the accuracy of student information," Mr Bell said.

One option being explored immediately was the possibility of checking grant applications with federal income tax returns. In the longer term, the application procedures are to be simplified and the sample verified will be increased.

Dr Bell added: "The changes we have targeted for 1983-84 will require legislative amendments and we will submit our proposals to Congress in the near future."

Scientific team expected to advise Reagan

President Reagan is expected to approve a proposal to create a national committee of eminent scientists to advise the White House on the development of a national science policy.

The proposal has been drawn up by Dr George Keyworth, the president's science adviser, and a list of about 15 possible members has been submitted for approval to White House chief of staff Mr Ed Meese.

Creation of the committee is seen as part of a campaign by the administration to reassert its belief in the importance of scientific research despite the recent cuts in federal spending.

Dr Keyworth told a conference of graduate schools in Washington last week that President Reagan recognized the importance of research to

the nation's economic health, and the government was determined to continue its support.

"It is a cornerstone of United States science policy that quality basic research and the education of our future scientists and engineers be adequately supported," he said.

If Dr Keyworth's proposal is approved, it will be the first time a presidential advisory committee on science has existed since President Nixon disbanded the President's Science Advisory Committee in 1973.

Unlike that committee, the proposed board will report to Dr Keyworth and not directly to the president. It will, however, meet more than once a month and is expected to become a powerful national focus for scientific planning.

The proposal for the advisory

committee has been warmly received by the scientific community. Dr Frank Press, president of the National Academy of Sciences and former science adviser to President Carter, said it was "a good idea."

A conference organized by the academy two months ago and attended by high-ranking scientists and university administrators also called for a stronger government policy on science.

Peter David,
North American Editor,
The Times Higher Education
Supplement,
National Press Building,
Room 541,
Washington, DC 20045,
Telephone: (202) 638 6765

Malaysians flock for cheaper study

Malaysian students, who once regarded Britain as the country to which they turned naturally for higher education, appear to have shifted their loyalty.

A census of overseas students published this week by the New York-based International Education Exchange reveals that the number of Malaysians studying in the United States jumped by over 64 per cent last year - the biggest increase of any national group.

The census reports that in 1979-80 there were only 3,660 Malaysian students, by 1980-81 the number had increased to 6,010. Other big increases were in students from Indonesia (33.2 per cent); Greece (25 per cent); Jordan (30.1 per cent); Vietnam (28.5 per cent) and Korea (25.8 per cent).

WORLDWIDE

Military
outlaws
campus
politics

Students and members of staff in higher education will no longer be permitted to join political parties, following the enactment of a new law by Turkey's military government. And university administrations will now be directly responsible to the Head of State. These are but two of the changes that will probably be seen as the most important since the first Universities Act 1946.

The 19-page act also includes provision for the compulsory study of "main subjects, the integration of 'academics' (smaller HE institutions) into the university system and compulsory service in Turkey's less-developed regions for teaching staff. Moreover, for the first time in Turkey's history, some students will now pay fees for higher education.

The act would have been an even later bombshell but for the fact that much of its contents had been leaked to the press during the two months before its publication. Nevertheless, it seems that a number of minute amendments were made to the order of the five-man inner circle of the ruling National Security Council. This accounts for the delay in enactment of the law since the final committee of the NSC is responsible for it completed the initial

it no changes were made in relation to the new procedures laid out for the appointment of rectors, is of faculty and members of the Higher Education Council (Yükseköğretim Kurulu), in which the head of state and government are given a 20 per cent. Leading academics and instructors had been lobbying against these procedures, which were seen as destroying university autonomy and reducing the university's defenceless against the political interference of whatever party comes to power under the "new democracy" which head of state General Kenan Evren has repeatedly promised to establish with the help of the newly-inaugurated Constituent Assembly.

Private sector suffers in recession

Latest stage in the crisis of higher education in Brazil came last month with a strike involving all 35,000 of the country's 20 federal universities. The strike ended with a 30 per cent pay rise, compared with the 20 per cent demanded, which will be supplemented by a 30 per cent cost of living increase next month. The strike was staged a few days before examinations were due to start, and the long vacation began. After a long and hard line, saying that pressure from parents and public opinion could be relied on to get students back to work, the minister, a general, gave

university salaries in Brazil are not spectacular by means. A senior professor earns the equivalent of £100 a month, the average university salary is half this, and an assistant lecturer will earn around £100 a month. The cost of living is only slightly lower than in the UK. The strike came at a time when Brazilian higher education is in difficulties, brought about by the recession in the labour market, but also involving a fall in standards. This year, the economy has not grown at all while industry has fallen back by 5 per cent. The past decade has seen a 10 per cent fall in the rate of growth of the economy. The rates of growth of around seven per cent a year, so students are suddenly finding it hard to get jobs, with only 50 applicants for many jobs in industry and commerce.

Salaries offered are far below what they were in the early years. The recession, while it is likely to go on for a couple of years yet, is having less effect on the universities than on the private sector, which, in spite of a huge demand for higher education since the late 1960s has absorbed most of the growth in the past 15 years. In the late 1960s when the military were setting out philosophy, it was decided that higher education should be gradually passed to private sector. The long-ignored federal universities, and the powerful uni-

Bernard Kennedy on the new higher education law in Turkey, Lindsay Wright on New Zealand's review of universities and Patrick Knight on the settlement of the Brazilian strike



General Evren has promised a 'new democracy' but the army will have control

In the present climate in Ankara, with all political parties abolished, the prohibition on membership of political parties has met with little public response. However, its importance goes far beyond the realm of education, casting doubt on the nature of the "democracy" which Turkey is to enjoy in the future.

Meanwhile, the debate on autonomy (the word is on everyone's lips) will no doubt continue, as soon as Turkey's academics have digested the act. Already, Professor Cemalettin Öner, dean of the Medical Faculty at Istanbul University, has said, "I don't expect the abolition of administrative autonomy to have any beneficial effects on the way in which universities are run".

Specifically, the new Act provides for university rectors to be selected by the head of state from a list of four candidates drawn up by the Higher Education Council. Of these, only two are to be professors, which means that someone from a completely different field of public service may henceforth become the top man in a Turkish university. Furthermore, if the head of state disapproves of all four candidates, and the council fails to produce more acceptable ones, he will be entitled to nominate a candidate of his own. The HEC, in fact, will be by far the most important body in Turkish higher education from now on, gaining importance at the expense of the Inter-University Board.

It will be responsible for the appointment of deans of faculty (from among candidates proposed by the rectors), for the organization of

universities of some major states, such as Sao Paulo, were left virtually alone, although not given any real increase in funds.

To meet the huge new demand, the norms and standards for setting up private universities and faculties were considerably relaxed. At the same time, short courses of two or three years were established, compared with the more traditional four or five. At the end of them, degrees give the holder the right to exercise some functions, such as to teach to a certain level. There has been a veritable boom in private faculties since then, particularly in popular fields such as business administration, law, accountancy and teaching.

Of the 1,200,000 students registered for degrees in Brazil in 1972, 142,000 were in business administration, 113,000 in law, and 86,000 in teaching. Medicine had a more reasonable, but still large, 54,000. Conditions for staff in the private faculties are almost totally set by the market. Virtually no research is done at these establishments, usually involving just one or two scattered faculties; and staff are paid per lecture. The rate now varies between £2 and £4 for a 45 minute lecture so staff have to work between 40 and 50 hours a week to make a living.

Although teachers at the private faculties might well belong to the National Association of Teachers of Higher Education, ANDES, which organized the recent strike, because they often teach at several faculties, or even combining secondary teaching with higher education, the strike only involved federal university staff.

It is unlikely that the rises achieved by the federal staff will be given to the private sector. Many of these are now proving vulnerable at a time when students no longer perceive a fairly high cost higher education as a passport to a good job. In any case, virtually all federal or state universities, where places are vigorously fought for by competitive exam-

Lecturers getting
stuck on the
promotions ladder

Universities in New Zealand are likely to respond warmly to the report of the University Review Committee set up a year ago by the University Grants Committee.

But whether the government will respond so warmly is the critical question, for the review committee is made up mainly of academics. It is headed by Canterbury University vice-chancellor and economist Professor Bert Brownlie with UGC member and former oil company managing director Mr John Fair and New Zealand Steel's managing director Mr J. H. Ingram who is a member of the governing council of the University of Auckland.

The committee recently released the first four of seven planned papers for public comment. Reactions will be sought before the committee presents its final report to the UGC.

In its draft report on staffing the committee states that since 1970 the proportion of academics in the senior lecturer, reader and professorial ranks has jumped from 45 to 64 per cent, with lecturers dropping from 28 to 19 per cent and junior lecturers from 27 to 17 per cent.

Within four years the resignation rate has almost halved, from 134 to 74 resignations a year with the annual turnover rate for resignations, deaths and retirements now down to about 4 per cent. These changes are reflected in the ages of academics with a mere 4 per cent now aged under 30 as against 16 per cent in 1969.

Promotions too, are becoming harder to achieve. Low staff turnover is resulting in steadily increasing queues of formerly promotable staff lining up at the maximum salaries within grades. In 1970, for example, 68 academics applied for or were recommended for promotion from senior lecturer to reader or associate professor and 37 per cent were promoted. Last year 123 were considered and only 20 per cent were promoted.

Increasing retirements over the next quinquennium should ease the present difficulties, but supportive policies such as provision for early retirement and more part-time appointments could help to relieve the current rigid staffing situation.

The committee gives only a qualified backing to possible provision for an early retirement scheme. But it suggests that some staff who no longer wish to make a full-time contribution might welcome the opportunity to work part-time at a reduced salary.

Rationalization of courses is another way in which the universities could make use of their staff establishments, the committee suggests.

"A university discipline usually requires three or four permanent staff to be academically viable. In departments where low student:staff ratios persist at this threshold staffing level and the subject is available elsewhere, universities should consider discontinuing that activity as opportunity offers," it says.

"The savings are unlikely to be substantial but they should in time lead to a more effective distribution of resources internally and fewer but stronger departments nationally."

"A contraction of course offerings should take place within a national framework which takes account of the relative strengths and quality of the various departments, the likely future pattern of staff requirements, the possibility of transfers, enrolment numbers, and so on."

Proposals for new subjects diploma, and degrees should be subject to rigorous scrutiny by the Curriculum Committee of the University Grants Committee. This committee should also consider or initiate consideration by an appropriate working

party of possible rationalization of specific university courses.

Presenting its draft report on university research, the committee stresses the need for better technical support, for new equipment, and for an increase in contract research. Techniques and equipment are rapidly increasing in sophistication, and their use is spreading through more disciplines," it says.

"The general shortage of technicians, leading at best to inefficient use of professional research time, is already serious. Adequate technical support of university research must be provided during the coming decade."

Substantial investment in new equipment is needed for the biological and physical sciences, engineering, the social sciences, and management studies.

On contract research the committee says that compared with Western countries, New Zealand has a unusually high percentage of its researchers in state employment and an unusually low percentage in its universities. In 1980-81, 84 per cent of government contract work was in the fields of agriculture (26 per cent), the environment (22 per cent), energy (18 per cent), and social science (18 per cent).

The committee says further development of the contract system is one of the best ways to enhance the university contribution to the total research effort, provided it does not distort the pattern of a university's contribution to the growth of knowledge.

University library collections in New Zealand have still not reached the standard of comparable universities overseas, nor do the staff and students have access to alternative collections or additional resources which are taken for granted by their colleagues in Europe and North America, according to the discussion paper on university libraries.

The report says New Zealand libraries have grown by an average of 29 per cent, during 1975-79. Unfortunately, this percentage increase required an increase in expenditure of 63.4 per cent, an indication of how expensive it has become to maintain a growth rate which is barely adequate.

The committee recommends that every effort should be made to accelerate the provision of additional library accommodation in the universities.

Computing has become the growth subject in the universities, but resources are not abundant and should be increased, the committee says in its discussion paper on computer education. The New Zealand university system, the committee suggests, currently produces computing graduates "on the cheap".

Rationalization is suggested in an observation that, because of the wide range of computing occupations, university departments of the different universities should "investigate 'voluntary specialization' in the range of their subject areas."

While other countries have seen their universities come under close national examination in exercises aimed at cutting back growth, the New Zealand universities find themselves the subject of recommendations for further expansion in the critical areas of staffing, research funding, computer education and libraries.

The recommendations are not that surprising. New Zealand's universities and the Government remain firmly opposed to imposing entry restrictions on students, and the funding of the universities has never been generous in comparison to the funding of similar university systems overseas in terms of the size of the grants per equivalent full-time student.

Ngaio Crequer on Aston University and the UGC cut
The slanging match is
over, but trouble's begun

Aston vice-chancellor Frederick Crawford prefers a smaller university base.

During three weeks in October the "gang of four" at Aston University attended 57 meetings talking to staff and students about the cuts, answering questions, and in some cases meeting abuse.

There is a "gang of four" or its equivalent at many universities these days as management and that is the terminology being adopted) tries to back a pathway through the cuts.

But few have had to face a problem quite so serious. Aston was told by the University Grants Committee to reduce its students by 22 per cent and take a budget cut of 30 per cent.

Five months after hearing the cuts, no one, from vice-chancellor down, knows why Aston was selected as one of the sacrificial victims. The bewilderment, anger, frustration and sheer outrage was necessarily turned inward as the university tried to find not only acceptable solutions but workable ones.

Aston went to the brink. A meeting of university staff passed a motion of no confidence in the vice-chancellor. Professor Frederick Crawford. The academic assembly said it had no confidence in his strategy. Two students are taking the university to court because they claim courses for which they applied were subsequently not the courses they began.

The vice-chancellor hit back. He told council in October and his views were recorded in the newsletter (Aston is a very public place). "There is a lot of nonsense being talked about my strategy; some of it is worse than nonsense, it is malicious and just plain vicious, and without defining honestly what my strategy is."

The crisis was faced and met. It came at a meeting of council when by 20 votes to 12 it was agreed that no forced redundancies of any staff be considered by council before the beginning of the next academic year.

With that threat removed, at least in the time being, the tension evaporated. Instead the management and "senior staff" as it has been called are uniting in a strong and positive campaign to make the UGC change its mind, to ensure the public, and particularly industry, realize what is at stake, and to find alternative strategies.

Words may take some time to heal but the parties at Aston are like no people who have just emerged from the slanging match after a particularly messy divorce but are now talking to each other and striving desperately to ensure that the children do not suffer.

There has never been any doubt at Aston that it is doing a good job. It has good grounds to object to the way it was treated by the UGC. Senate has written to the committee to say that where recent information was available the advice was favourable, but unfavourable

where the information was unavailable.

Biological sciences ("consider discontinuing"), for example had not been visited by a subcommittee since 1970.

The UGC seems to be unaware of the activities in industrial fermentation, fish farming, mushroom culture, and water management, many of which have gained international recognition and which have a high potential value for the economy, and of the planning of a Biotechnology Institute which has been going on for more than a year, said senate.

The department has written to the subcommittee to ask for a visit but as yet has not even received an acknowledgement. Professor Allen Matty, who was on sabbatical advising Pakistan about biological developments, rushed back in July when he heard the news.

"The university says that biological sciences is good. Our grant record from non-UGC funds is in the top

ten. I do not know why biology here was picked on by the UGC. But we have got a good fighting spirit," he says.

Other advice was also out of date. The committee recommended that architecture should be discontinued. It was in 1979. Philosophy ("consider discontinuing") only exists as a contribution to an inter-departmental course.

In engineering ("reduce numbers") the university was already acting on previous advice to cut-back, so it feels it is being penalized twice. In education ("recommend to discontinue") the department has not been visited since 1970 despite requests. Ironically, the advice to increase physical sciences will be difficult to implement because of the huge cut in grant.

Aston estimated that in September if no evasive action were taken, its cumulative deficit in 1984/5 at worst would be £12,400,000. With reserves of only £4,000,000 bankruptcy

loomed large.

Before the July UGC letter the university had undergone an intensive round of questionnaires to staff, departmental reviews, meetings with heads of departments. The vice-chancellor asked each department to prepare a hypothetical 30 per cent reduction, not knowing or thinking that this would prove to be the figure imposed in July for the whole university.

The letter recommended that home and European Community student numbers go from 4,670 in 1979/80 to 3,640 in 1983/4. The university estimated that it would only be able to afford 350 academic staff by 1983/4. So unless extra income was found 140 academic posts and 310 non-academic posts, in addition to those already frozen (from 515 and 1,612 respectively) would need to be shed.

In mid-September the university's staff officer, Mr Peter Tebbitt, informed the Department of Employ-

ment as a precautionary measure, that it was intending to make staff redundant. This is an obligation under employment legislation.

The Association of University Teachers in London despatched a telegram to say that an injunction would be sought if there were compulsory redundancies.

At the end of September the university published a cuts timetable which gave dates for when redundant staff would be notified, when notices would be issued, when claims would be submitted to the UGC and when the Universities Central Council on Admissions would be told about the discontinuance of courses.

George Whibberley, chairman of the academic assembly who was one of the "guerrillas" said: "I think the university was overhasty in removing some courses and we lost some student income because of it. I think Professor Crawford made no secret of the fact that he would prefer a smaller base. He saw no reason for delay."

He dismissed the comment that nobody ever said there would be compulsory redundancies, as "rubbish. You don't go to 57 meetings talking about steps that would remove 150 staff in 18 months without people realizing that you are talking about compulsory redundancy."

"That was a real blundering approach. People were very frightened. The words were used, though not necessarily by Professor Crawford."

Dr Richard Etheridge, the AUT president, compared the university's cutback plan to an academic neutron bomb. "It destroys the people and leaves the buildings intact," he said.

As for the UGC proposals, he sees them as the university system seeking vengeance on the technological universities because they received a major part of the resources available after Robbins.

"So you choose the criteria you want to bring that about. We have the lowest unit of resource in the university sector. If you had chosen a criterion of usefulness to industry we would have had no cuts. The UGC looked at student/staff numbers and SSRG grants rather than industrial grants."

This week and next an academic plan will be presented to senate and council which it is hoped will provide the new structure for Aston. Eventually the university will be smaller; possibly with more of a shift from high technology, and some courses have already been discontinued or merged.

With the introduction of three early retirement schemes for staff, including one which gives up to 50 tenured academics a bonus 35 per cent on previous schemes, Aston is moving towards the numbers of staff it has estimated it can afford - but all by voluntary means. The first two schemes will cost £1.4m.

Not much hope for old, gifted and black

A West Indian woman from Brixton or a middle aged man in a wheelchair has only a slender chance of getting into university or college. If they fight the odds to get there they may well feel alienated from their own culture and background as they undergo an education which is geared mainly to the needs and expectations of white, able-bodied middle-class, 18-year-old men.

This form of bias in our education system is the subject of a conference next week organized by the Society for Research into Higher Education. The conference is well-timed for the Government's stringent financial cuts are expected to hit disproportionately groups of people already under-represented.

Higher education is already exclusive. In 1980 113,000 18 year olds began courses of higher education and of the 793,000 who did not, only a small number applied and were rejected. A far greater number did not apply at all; not because they lacked the basic ability but because their previous education and upbringing had denied them the chance or even the ambition to consider going to university or college.

A book published by the society to coincide with the conference shows that those who do enter higher education come from a favoured section of society: predominantly white, middle-class, able-bodied boys.

The book, *Is Higher Education Fair?* edited by David Warren Piper, considers education as a service to the community, rather than looking at biases of a more specific academic sort. In doing so, the 11 academics who have contributed have identified biases against age, class, disability, geography, language, religion, race and sex.

For example, Bill Williamson a sociology lecturer at Durham University, shows that young people from upper middle-class homes are five times more likely to go to university than those with a working-class background. Although the expansion of polytechnics and colleges has increased opportunities, students from higher social backgrounds are more likely to enrol on full-time degree courses.

Dale Spender, the editor of *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, points out that only just over two per cent of British professors are women. In all, women comprise 13 per cent of all academic staff in universities; they represent six per cent of readers and senior lecturers, 14 per cent of lecturers and assistant lecturers, and a third of all other teaching posts. Men even dominate the student population. Women form 37 per cent of undergraduates and 28 per cent of postgraduates.

On ethnic minority groups, Professor Alan Little of Goldsmiths Col-

lege shows that while 5 per cent of all school-leavers in England go on to university, only 1 per cent of West Indians and 3 per cent of Asians and other groups enrol. Again only the same small proportion of West Indians enrol on full-time degree courses in further education compared to 3 per cent of Asians and others.

Alan Woodley, a researcher in the Open University's survey research department, maintains that while opportunities for adults have expanded, a larger number are still prevented from entering higher education. Those who overcome the financial and social barriers and enrol at the Open University, on part-time degree courses at polytechnics, or become full-time mature students at university are not a cross-section of society.

Although the question of access to higher education is important, the book also seeks to show how the intellectual approach adopted by universities and most polytechnics helps to perpetuate the odds stacked against certain groups.

Most people would regard the exclusiveness of higher education as "academic" and neutral in intention, says Tyrrell Burgess, reader in the philosophy of social institutions at North East London Polytechnic. They would argue that the only reason for excluding people from higher education is on academic

grounds. If the number of places is limited, then the better qualified will be admitted.

He argues instead that the tradition of organizing academic life along the lines of subjects and disciplines leads to exclusion on the grounds of maintaining academic standards. This "autonomous" tradition feels it can only accept those who will "benefit" from what it is doing.

Other papers take this a step further by examining how the education system fails to accommodate the experience and expectations of women, working class people and members of ethnic minority groups.

Instead they are offered a conventional path from their present cultural to that of the dominant white, middle class, male group according to the book's editor, David Warren Piper, who is head of the university's teaching methods unit at London University's Institute of Education. "It is the way which promises West Indians that they can become so English that they are fully integrated into the general community, promises the working class social mobility, and women success in terms of conceived by men," he says.

Is Higher Education Fair? Society for Research into Higher Education, £9.

Charlotte Barry

JHE 11.12.81

Stephen Shaw looks at the prospects for penal reform

Prisoners of the public conscience

For years just about everyone who has looked at our penal system has come to the same basic conclusions. We send vastly more people to prison than we need, we send them here for far too long and while they are there we keep them in squalid conditions and subject them to petty and unnecessary regulations. The report of the House of Commons committee, *The Prison Service*, published in July and the J.P. Party Penal Affairs Group report, *Six Too Many Prisoners*, published in September, are only the test in a long line of official and non-official accounts to have shared this consensus.

If it is so obvious that prison is a degrading, expensive and unjust, why does the prison system continue to expand and why does the form of its procedures prove so inflexibly difficult to achieve? Of all the issues in social policy which have been debated since the end of the 19th century, none has faced such political and administrative inertia as penal reform. After two years of saying at the crisis in the prisons was the latest problem he faced, the present Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, has abandoned his early scheme - the one proposal which might have done something to ease the crisis of overcrowding.

Confronted by the crisis of overcrowding, we can begin by broadening the weight of opposition to penal reform among those responsible for running the system. The Prison Department certainly contains its fair share of the ascendency is now held by those of a more dovish persuasion. Home Office officials have been as appalled as anyone by Whitelaw's collapse in the face of the ladies of the Conservative Party.

either is it a question of sheer incompetence. On the contrary, the shake-up of the Prison Department following the May inquiry, the department has been re-named by some of the brightest people working within the Home Office. It is simply that the Home Office is by tradition a reactive department which has always been led events.

There are some important structural impediments to penal reform

which must be acknowledged. The divided and devolved responsibility for criminal justice in this country (the absence, it could be argued, of a Ministry of Justice) has helped to prevent the evolution of a genuine penal policy. Moreover, no one could discount the political weight of the judiciary in opposing further restrictions upon sentencing. While the argument that such restrictions would represent a threat to judicial independence is quite bogus, there is a genuine constitutional issue which remains unresolved. Is the level of imprisonment something which can be left to the free market of thousands of individual sentencing decisions or is it something for which limits should be set by the executive?

That the independence of the judiciary is not imperilled by controlling the use of imprisonment can be best perceived by considering the limits which already exist upon sentencing. Maximum and minimum penalties are laid down in statute and the power of magistrates to imprison is restricted. There now seems little doubt that the number of prisoners is itself an important determinant of the use of imprisonment as a sentence. Put crudely, if the Home Office builds new prisons, the judiciary responds by finding the prisoners to fill them. Figures produced by the Home Office suggest that physical proximity to prison establishments strongly influences sentencing policy in magistrates' courts.

The reopening of the former army camps at Rolleston and Beckett has been a deliberate incitement to magistrates by the Home Office to pass custodial sentences upon those convicted of offences in the summer street disturbances.

When one considers the devastating growth in the size of the prison population since the ending of the prison officers' dispute, the present position could scarcely be bleaker. The industrial action taken by the prison officers during the second half of 1980 resulted in a total drop of about 3,500 in the numbers detained and at the same time brought about a general improvement in conditions. By restricting capacity, the Prison Officers' Association succeeded where all else had failed in reducing the size of the prison population. By

contrast, since the conclusion of the dispute the numbers have shot up to an unprecedented rate to reach a new record of 45,500 in July.

It is in the face of these numbers that the retiring director of the Howard League concluded a valedictory article in *The Times* on September 2 with the warning that "more controversial methods may be called for". For while the position has eased since July, the gap between the prescriptions of everybody who has seriously looked at penal policy and the present state of our prisons could hardly be wider.

There has been of course an expectation that the incessant day-to-day pressure of overcrowding would result in some reforming measures being taken. In his widely publicized speech to Leicester magistrates in February, the Home Secretary said that the reduction in the prison population during the prison officers' dispute was "because the progress which we have to measure the progress or otherwise which the criminal justice system is making". Mr Whitelaw's original proposal for a conditional early release scheme (termed, misleadingly, an extension of parole) for those serving sentences of less than three years was clearly made in response to the crisis of overcrowding.

While reformers were in general somewhat sceptical of the value of a scheme which did not focus upon sentencing and which indeed reduced still further the connection between sentence imposed and time actually served, the Home Secretary's plans would have had a sizeable impact on prisoner numbers. It is hard to find anyone with a kind word for the scheme's replacement in the Criminal Justice Bill, the unprecedented letter to the Home Secretary on November 19 passionately expressed the fears and disappointment of the entire prison service.

Apart from sheer overcrowding, the other pressure presently being exerted on the Home Office is the European Court at Strasbourg. Many of the regulations governing the conduct of British prisons are not only petty but almost certainly contrary to the European human rights convention. For example, one has some

sympathy for any representative of the Government who has to explain why male prisoners on the mainland should be forced to wear prison uniform while female prisoners on the mainland and all prisoners in Northern Ireland (if they accept the rules) should be allowed to wear their own clothes. The restrictions on visits and free association, the censorship and the disciplinary procedures, are all likely to run foul of European standards.

Even if Britain does go to Strasbourg to defend the indefensible this will only postpone the inevitable reforms and besmirch still further the Home Office's shamefully bleak record in human rights. However, such reform as there is of the system under the twin threats of overcrowding and the European convention will clearly be a haphazard, half-hearted and unsatisfactory affair. It will effect only tangentially the central issue of sentencing policy.

Is there any other way open to facilitate the development of genuinely humane penal systems for the remainder of the century? Just how many of the inhabitants of Oxford and Bedford, for example, realize that within their towns they possess the most grossly overcrowded prisons in the country? Just how many realize what this means in human terms for the chronic alcoholics, the mentally ill and the disturbed petty offenders who make up such a large proportion of the population of our local prisons? Is it really widely understood that the way in which we presently run our prisons mean that such people spend the majority of their day locked up two or three to a cell which was built in Victorian times for a single prisoner? Conditions are not "Dickensian". In many ways we have gone backwards since Dickens' day.

It is hard to believe that the current conditions in our prisons could have existed unless the public had been so ill informed. There are strong grounds for supposing that British prisons have evolved despite, and not because of, public attitudes. This is why the tentative reductions in the endemic secrecy which has bedevilled the system need to be taken much further.

Increasingly, and despite Whitelaw's surrender, observers are

coming to the view that penal policy is at an historic turning point. The sheer physical decay of the prison estate and the massive building programme which would be needed to meet it have forced the Government to search for community-based alternatives to custody. At the same time the frustration of prison officers at the role they are expected to play and the conditions under which they must work has led them to issue a deadline for early 1983. If overcrowding has not by then been tackled by the Home Office, the officers themselves will simply refuse to accept prisoners sent by the court until the prison population is reduced to a workable level. In a number of establishments the officers already operate such a system, although not surprisingly the Home Office has been in no hurry to advertise this fact.

A new Criminal Justice Bill will shortly be placed before Parliament. At its most pessimistic the measures in the Bill seem to suggest that the Government is committed to proposals which will result in still more adults and young people being subject to custodial sanctions. Yet from another perspective a limited penal reform is now inevitable. To ask how many realize what this means in human terms for the chronic alcoholics, the mentally ill and the disturbed petty offenders who make up such a large proportion of the population of our local prisons? Is it really widely understood that the way in which we presently run our prisons mean that such people spend the majority of their day locked up two or three to a cell which was built in Victorian times for a single prisoner? Conditions are not "Dickensian". In many ways we have gone backwards since Dickens' day.

Such measures as the officers take will only be emergency repairs. To overcome the inertia of politicians and officials, far-reaching reform of the system requires the support of much larger sections of public opinion. This is the job which the Prison Reform Trust has set itself. And as the BBC *Strangeways* series is repeated this winter it will be interesting to trace the impact on public opinion. For almost every large town in England and Wales has its own decaying *Strangeways*.

The author is director of the Prison Reform Trust.

A power hungry patriot

Not much is known of French revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat's early career, especially the 11 years that he spent in England as a young man, between 1765 and 1776. He practised medicine here without any qualifications, until he bought a degree from St Andrews in 1775.

During these early years he wrote two political works, *The Chains of Slavery*, published in English in London in 1774 and an essay on criminal law that he submitted to a literary society in Bern soon after his return to France in 1778. These expressed a point of view that Marat was to hold throughout the French revolution. All governments were initially established by violence and were sustained only by force and guile. With one or two exceptions, the sole object of rulers was to extend their power and the only means of restraining them was popular revolt.

Marat never had any confidence in the ability of the mass of the people, "a stupid animal whose affections are always secure", to act for themselves and he insisted that they must be led by "men whom an independent fortune secures from the temptations of poverty". He believed, however, that men without the means of subsistence were involved from all social obligations and were entitled to take what they needed by whatever means were available to them.

Unlike most political theorists, Marat had no solutions to offer: rule was almost bound to win, and could only be checked or confounded from time to time. When he published a French edition of *The Chains of Slavery* in 1793 he told his readers that Lord North had been so frightened of the effect the original edition might have on the 1774 election that he had spent over 8,000 guineas and employed secret agents to prevent it from appearing in time. Parts of his elaborate story are demonstrably untrue - the book was advertised and reviewed in the normal way and appeared well before the election - and the rest is incredible. Marat is the worst of all sources to Marat.

When he settled in France in 1776 he began a new career in more ways than one. He soon established himself as quite an affluent society physician, calling himself "a doctor of several English universities." He was appointed medical officer to the household of the King's brother, the Comte d'Artois, a young rake who was to become one of the leaders of the counter-revolution. At this time he called himself "de Marat" and claimed to be of noble birth.

By now his interest had shifted from politics to physics and he published several essays on heat, light and electricity. As a scientist, Marat's speciality was the discovery of hitherto unknown fluids: nervous, optical, igneous and electric. All his predecessors were put in the shade, including Newton, whose "classical system is merely a tissue of errors". He may even have believed in his own claims and thought that his rejection by the *Académie des Sciences* was prompted by jealousy. With Marat it is always difficult to distinguish honest paranoia from delusional day-dreaming.

The latter was very much in evidence when he tried to win appointment as secretary of a new scientific academy in Madrid, presenting himself as a man of exemplary piety who, from the age of 18, had been persecuted by the "impious philosophy" since he refused to support their campaign of religious and political subversion. Presumably the Spaniards took the trouble to investigate his standing in Parisian scientific circles. He did not get the job and he left his employment with the Académie.

In 1780, remembering his birth in Neuchâtel, which was then Prussian

Marat gained notoriety as voice of the French revolutionary mob. Norman Hampson debunks his myth

territory, he sent presentation copies of his scientific works to King Frederick II, "a feeble expression of his profound respect and admiration", in the hope of obtaining a royal pension. That failed too, perhaps because he had left it too late. Frederick died in the same year. When the revolutionary crisis broke in France Marat was disappointed.

It took him some time to settle on his new role although, from the beginning, he seems to have seen himself as one of the leaders of the new France. In the spring of 1789 he published an *Offrande à la Patrie* which must surely have been the most optimistic of all the innumerable pamphlets to appear in that unforgettable spring. "The millennium had already arrived. 'The people groan no more under the crushing burden of taxes. Already the farmer has bread and clothing and can breathe again; the workman shares his lot and the artisan is free from the tedious servitude of the altar languishes in poverty no more.' He sent a presentation copy to Necker, "that great statesman . . . as distinguished by his wisdom as his integrity." In a supplement that he published a month or so later, the picture was already darker and more realistic, but Necker was still "that wise man whose good intentions I shall always respect."

During the summer he produced a substantial *Plan de Constitution*, an attempt to harness his old belief that all governments were founded on violence to some positive ideas about what could be done in France. These were somewhat conventional, if not actually conservative, for Marat retained almost to the end of his life a curious devotion to the British way of government and respect for civil liberties (despite the nefarious Lord North). He wrote a good many letters to the Constituent Assembly, informing it of his past struggles for liberty and offering his advice. These were presumably lost in the flood of similar offerings that poured in from all sides; at all events, the assembly showed no signs of wanting to take advantage of his services.

In the autumn of 1789 he set himself up in business as a journalist when he launched the *Publiciste Parisien*, ostensibly the organ of a society of patriots who had secured the collaboration of "this zealous citizen who for so long has better to serve his country, and whose name will be inscribed amongst its liberators." After the first few issues a uninspiring title to *L'ami du Peuple*. The character of the paper changed too, as Marat found his true vocation. After initially promising his

readers "liberty without license, energy without violence and prudence without prejudice", within a week he was proclaiming that the revolutionaries were beset by traitors and applauding the lynching of two royal officials by the Paris crowd.

Until his assassination by Charlotte Corday in July 1793, the paper was to appear almost daily, apart from a long gap when he fled to England in 1790 and one or two short interruptions. In a very real sense it was Marat and he used its title to refer indifferently to himself or his paper. Its habitual violence was punctuated by periods of relative moderation. This was partly due to his own circumstances. For most of the time he was in hiding and could ignore threats of prosecution, when he was out in the open he was more circumspect.

Revolutionary crises provoked him to outbursts of revolting ferocity. He greeted the king's flight in 1791 and the subsequent massacre of the Champ de Mars with proposals to shave Marie Antoinette's head, to bury alive émigrés whom he wrongly believed to have landed in the west, and to impale the deputies. Sometimes his *accès de fureur* had no obvious political causes and may have been the result of fluctuations in his physical or mental health. How far he expected anyone to take him literally it is difficult to say. He apparently told the Montagnard deputy, Basire, that his hand would wither if he thought anyone would act on his advice. On the other hand, he claimed to have said to Robespierre that he had been in earnest about impaling the deputies, when the incorruptible reproached him for his violence.

The tone of the *Ami du Peuple* was one of resolute and unvarying pessimism. All the opportunities offered by the revolution had been thrown away, with the result that things were ten times worse than they had been under the ancien régime. Each of the three Assemblies aroused a flicker of hope, but was promptly consigned to the dustbin - sometimes before it had even begun. The Legislative was worse than the Constituent and the Convention worse than the plots of traitors and counter-revolutionaries, who included everyone in a position of authority: the king and his ministers, especially Necker; the mayor of Paris; the commander of the Parisian National Guard; the administration. These men corrupted all who were associated with them, and that included the great majority of the deputies. The only revolutionaries for whom he consistently showed respect were Robespierre and Danton, and he stopped praising Robespierre when the election of the pair of them to the Convention made them rivals - at least from Marat's point of view.

True to the belief he had expressed in *The Chains of Slavery*, Marat thought that the only achievements of the revolution, and notably the declaration of the Rights of Man, were the product of popular coercion. This never had any lasting effect since the "stupid and cowardly citizens", whenever they were in a position of temporary power, in July and October 1789 and again after August 10 1792, disregarded his advice to exterminate all their leading opponents.

Time and again he repeated that 500 heads would once have sufficed. Now 10,000, 100,000 or (his highest bid) 2-300,000 would scarcely do. Marat was always the mourner of lost opportunities. Since the people themselves were "incapable of conducting any enterprise", if they were not to forfeit the fruits of their occasional successes, they must appoint a dictator (he was, of course, using the term in the Roman rather than the modern sense). Sometimes he saw the role of this *tribun militaire* as purely repressive: the extermination of the enemies of the revolution within a period that could be as short as three days. Sometimes he conceived of him a kind of Rousseauist legislator who would provide France with new institutions. It was quite clear whom he had in mind; indeed he went so far as to say that he could probably have had the job for the asking, after the king's flight, but he had no taste for public office, especially among a people as frivolous and versatile as the French. On another occasion he promised to make the country free and happy within six weeks and prosperous within a year, and to keep it that way for the rest of his life.

Marat's megalomania was truly monstrous. The revolution was virtually his own work. All the *châliers* of 1789 had been inspired by his *Offrande* and *Plan de Constitution* (this was all the more remarkable since the latter had not even been published at the time). By November 1789 he had already saved the revolution twice, in the crises of July and October. He rejected in advance the place he was bound to be offered in the Pantheon, because of the company he would have to keep. He was never been taken in, knew how to judge men, and never lost heart, the only writer who dared to tell the truth. "If one is not a Maratist, it is impossible to be an unflinching patriot." His genius was universal; if only he had not been ill, he could have ended the civil war in the Vendée within 24 hours - "I am no

stranger to the art of war." Not surprisingly, Necker had offered over a million livres in gold to buy his silence (his price had gone up since Lord North's time) and for three years 500 police spies and 2,000 assassins had been on his tracks.

He had no programme, apart from the extermination of all those whom he distrusted. His occasional glances at social policy were conventional and perfunctory. He was opposed to "the system of strict equality", approved of restrictions on the grain trade but considered price controls "the height of folly". He denounced the rich but had little idea of what to do about the poor, though he did propose to deport foreign beggars and lock up French ones who refused work on the roads. He published an article in favour of eugenics in England, as an example of state intervention to regulate property. He always insisted that food shortages were the work of hoarders and counter-revolutionaries and could therefore be cured at once by a little salutary intimidation: "The plunder of a few shops and the hanging of hoarders outside their own doors would soon put a stop to these malversations." This may have struck the sensibilities of his not very helpful.

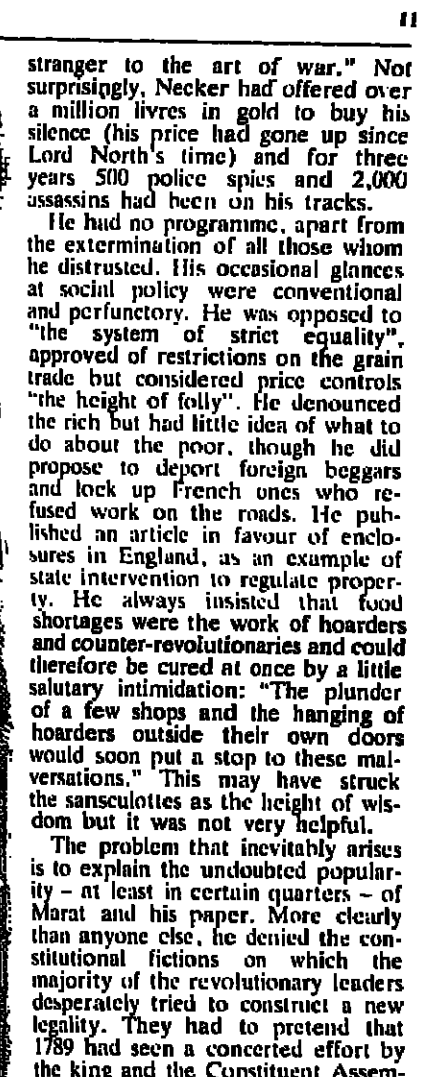
The problem that inevitably arises is to explain the undoubted popularity - at least in certain quarters - of Marat and his paper. More clearly than anyone else, he denied the constitutional fictions on which the majority of the revolutionary leaders desperately tried to construct a new legality. They had to pretend that 1789 had seen a concerted effort by the king and the Constituent Assembly to base a new order on compromise and consent. This was a necessary fiction that could have gained credibility if the compromise had worked. When the opposite happened and the politicians had to pretend that the king's flight in 1791 was an abduction, it strained credulity beyond belief.

Marat's explanation was more brutal: all the gains of the revolution had been won by force; the court had never resigned itself to defeat but worked to recover the lost ground after every setback; the declaration of the Rights of Man had remained a dead letter since every group in the Assembly in turn, from the Monarchiens to the Girondins, tried to drive a bargain with the court, which involved giving up some of what had been so painfully won. The revolution was therefore in a permanent state of war. There was enough truth in this - if not in the lurid terms in which Marat presented it - to give his argument plausibility. Some of his denunciations were justified by courts; if he was always smelling a rat, the rats were sometimes there, times there.

Despite all this, his influence on actual events was negligible, except to the unmeasurable extent to which he contributed to the growth of hatred, suspicion and fear. The only action in which he seems to have participated was the prison massacre of September 1792. This fitted in very well with his general theory of politics: after the insurrection of August 10 it was necessary to consolidate the popular victory by the extermination of the leading counter-revolutionaries.

Over a thousand people were slaughtered and Marat had, quite illegally, attached himself to the police committee of the Paris Commune that was probably responsible, after inviting his readers to storm the Abbaye prison and murder its inmates. For once his panacea was tried but the results were disappointing. Within three weeks he was complaining that repression had been inadequate and calling for a new insurrection. Whatever his illusions about his talent as a revolutionary leader, he himself had a shrewd idea of the extent of his actual influence. A month or so before he was murdered he wrote that his role in the revolution would be a subject for profound reflection by posterity which would be amazed, both by his courage and resolution - and by the fact that no one took any notice of him. Posterity has certainly not neglected him but the solution to his problem is perhaps less baffling than he seemed to think.

The author is professor of history at the University of York.



A MARAT
DAVID (SMITH)

Journalist

The science of the art of the plausible

major weakness of Government, demonstrated by its further bludgeoning of public expenditure programmes, is its imperviousness to public pressure.

It is reflected in one of the most extraordinary paradoxes of the government-academic industry: that not only do researchers pour thousands of hours into devising, carrying out, writing up major social research projects, and almost totally neglect the follow-up to their conclusions, are taken on board by Government also pour millions of pounds into social research and then as often as not shut down or even ignore the findings.

he paradox arises from the false assumption that if Government commissions research, it tends to "use it." It often doesn't. The two may instead be taken to legitimize "rent-trappings" - the "front" function of research. One could cite here much of the work done for the Royal Commission on Civil Procedure, which has just reported, but which has already been pre-empted by the Criminal Justice Bill.

the motive may be to head off short political pressures by buying time in the knowledge that the pressures may have subsided. An example here was the recent Royal Commission on the NHS.

third motive may simply be to generate and greater quantities of information substitute for coming to a decision. An instance here are the three royal commissions on the press of 1948, 1961, and 1977.

Michael Meacher on the waste of costly research

all of which had enormous appendices of learned research and all of which came to precisely nothing.

Not that this means that social policy research necessarily has little impact. For short term, it may on a longer perspective change the domestic ideologies that underpin existing policy; on the effect of research appears deceptively negligible. For example, research may recommend option A, but this is ruled out as politically unacceptable. However, what is finally chosen may be option C because option B, which was initially most favoured, is ruled out by the research findings.

Above all, expectations of research are misunderstood. Politicians want to politicize research - to implement it quickly for its political effect. Civil servants, on the other hand, want to administrativize it - to sit on it for a period of germination so that its compatibility with the consensus can be worked through. And the civil servants normally win because they have a longer time scale and because they possess tighter control over the Whitehall machinery for implementation.

The bureaucratic framework of Government research is also misunderstood. Since social research is often sponsored, conducted, and used by the established sections of society, it tends to be applied to problems as perceived by those elites.

This is not to suggest that government re-

search is controlled or used to further the ends of those in power; it is more subtle and complex than that. For clearly, government agencies sponsoring research are not monolithically and relentlessly dedicated to maintaining the status quo. But at the same time civil servants are not usually motivated by an impassioned zeal for reform, but rather by desire to maintain a balance between conflicting institutional pressures.

The research worker has an ideological commitment to the value of knowledge, but it is too readily forgotten that the administrator and politician often have an equal commitment to ignorance. Research units may therefore be so organized as to minimize controversy. What then can be done to avoid these pitfalls without research workers becoming portents with those in power? The most important message, I believe, is that research workers need to organize themselves.

Firstly, they should require an assurance at the start of their research on the framework course be considered for implementation. To reserve a proportion of the funding to be drawn on only for the purposes of arranging parties with a primary interest in implementing the recommendations. At present researchers all too often move on quickly to another job and lack the money and sometimes the energy

too, to pursue the implications of their completed programme.

Secondly, ministers should be pressed, through Social Science Research Council or Social Research Association organizational channels, to keep much more closely in touch with research being carried out, ostensibly in their name, in their own departments. This would enable researchers not only to latest ministers in the relevance of their work, but which ministers are normally at present biliously ignorant, but also to frame their work better in the light of ministers' policy objectives and priorities (though not of course allow that to influence their conclusions).

Thirdly, researchers should demand access to the departmental and inter-departmental official committees, which is where power really lies in Whitehall, when they are examining the completed work.

Lastly, and most fundamentally, this country needs an effective mechanism for determining coherent priorities in social policy research generally. At present, research is fragmented too diffusely between different departments. Whoever is selected for this body, it should be chaired by a senior minister and should have research representatives sitting on it. Only then will social research begin to yield its real potential, which is now so wastefully dissipated.

The author has been Labour MP for Oldham West since 1970. He has been parliamentary under secretary at the Department of Industry, Trade and at the DHSS. He is visiting professor in sociology at the University of Surrey.

BOOKS

A large and gloomy vision

James Joll

Myth of the Nation and the On of Revolution: the origins of logical polarisation in the 19th century

L. Talmon
Cambridge University Press, £15.00
N 0 436 51399 4

Talmon died in 1980 at the age 84. His last book has appeared humbly and completes a work he more than thirty years ago. *Myth of the Nation and the On of Revolution* is the last volume of a trilogy, of which the earlier two are *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1952) and *Political Messianism: the romantic phase* (1960). This third volume, completed in 1978, is a study of the origins of the ideas and the distractions preoccupations to which any individual in Israel is subject (and which Talmon for whom study of the past was agonizingly linked with the reality of the present), in some ways most ambitious and far-ranging in three. It is the growing radiation between what Talmon

"the two most potent ideological forces of the last two hundred years: the vision of a total social revolution and the myth of the nation." The first two volumes deal with earlier stages of this dichotomy set out to show how from the what had seemed great liberalisms - the revolution to achieve justice and the revolution to achieve national independence - came within themselves the seeds of tyranny and injustice even greater than those they destroyed.

book opens with a study of the ideas of Marx and Engels about liberty, but then it divides into a river, and follows its themes through the main historical and ideological developments of the 19th and early 20th centuries - the spread of socialism as a movement; the collapse of the of socialist internationalism in the development of revolutionaries and movements in Russia; links between socialism and fascism; There is also a long and moving chapter on "The Jewish question", an imaginative survey of Jewish history and the Jewish present which, even if it fits rather into the general framework of the book, is full of fresh insights into the relationship of a conservative religion to the revolutionary movements into which the thrust of the Jewish people drove so many Jews. However, for all the range of Talmon's reading and the breadth of his history, the main theme of the book is that it happened in Russia. This is only because the revolution came there first. It is in the Russian Revolution that Talmon finds the most expression. As Talmon puts it:

Absolutes were answered with absolutes: divine sanction with atheism; transcendental idealism with undiluted materialism; the doctrine of the superiority of spontaneity, direct, unhesitating faith over the debilitating treacherousness of analytical reasoning... with teachings inspired by uncompromisingly doctrinaire rationalism and the crudest forms of utilitarianism.

In his discussion of the Russian revolutionaries of the nineteenth century (Belinsky, Herzen, Bakunin, Tkachev, Nechaev) Talmon inevitably covers ground familiar from the writings of Berlin, Venturi, Confino and others; but by putting them into a European context and by carrying the story through to the revolutions of the twentieth century, he emphasizes their importance and significance for the history of ideas and for an understanding of our own world. More than anyone else, it was the Russian thinkers who faced the true nature and implications of revolutionary change, even when like Herzen they turned away from them.

Lenin is for Talmon the great example of a revolutionary whose acts and ideas had consequences which he neither expected nor intended. Talmon is as fascinated as Lenin himself by the repetitions of history: "Just as in 1793 the Reign of Terror was preceded by the last promulgation of the most democratic constitution yet known... the establishment of the most dictatorial regime in modern history [was] ushered in by such an ultra-democratic, not to say anarchist and utopian tract as *The State and Revolution* composed by Lenin in the summer of 1917." And this, Talmon argues, was not just hypocritical justification of the policies which were about to be adopted but rather because:

only through a genuine belief in the possibility, indeed inevitability and imminence of the great fulfilment were the vanguard of the messianic revolution able to feel entitled to claim that they expressed the true will of the people and to act as the instrument of history, when resorting to coercion and usurping unlimited dictatorial powers. Otherwise they would have had to be utter hypocrites or cynics in their own eyes. And this they were not, at least at the start. This deeply pessimistic message that the more idealistic and utopian the goal, the more cruel and tyrannical the methods is a central theme of Talmon's powerful and tragic reading of history.

In addition to believing that revolution turns into destructive tyranny whatever its original idealistic goals or positive achievements, Talmon also sees nationalism as equally disastrous in its consequences. It destroys not only the liberal values which had produced the doctrine of national self-determination but also the socialist ideals of a new harmonious world.

This had already been demonstrated before 1914 both in the history of the Second International and in the "little international" of the Austro-Hungarian social-democratic movement. Marx and, especially, Engels had seen the national aspirations of the Slav nations as a tiresome obstacle to the consolidation of large economically unified areas ripe for socialization. They interfered with the proper historical development of capitalism which would prepare the way for revolution. "We will not... accord to those nations," Engels wrote, "the rights which are claimed at present by Serbia, Bulgaria and West Rumania (sic) - the right to put obstacles to the construction of a European railway network up to Constantinople."

The theorists of Austro-Marxism, notably Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, recognized the realities of Slav national feeling in the Habsburg monarchy, but in fact, as Talmon shows, they were unable effectively to reconcile their understanding of nationalism with their desire to preserve the Austro-Hungarian state as a single economic area, since the nationalists were not satisfied with anything less than complete independence; and this meant the end of socialist internationalism in Austria-Hungary as Victor Adler and the social democratic leaders had hoped it would develop.

There is one surprising omission in Talmon's account of the interaction between nationalism and revolution. He gives no account at all of the Zionist movement. Theodor Herzl is only mentioned once in these pages, and then only in connection with his conversation with the Russian minister Witte about the high proportion of Jews in the Russian revolutionary movement. The chapter on the Jewish dimension deals with the rise of racist antisemitism and with one of the Jewish ways out - the belief of revolutionary Jews such as Rosa Luxemburg that the revolution would remove antisemitism as it would remove all other ills. Since the shadow of Auschwitz clearly hangs over so much of Talmon's discussion, it is strange that he does not make more of the new Jewish nationalism and the beliefs which led to the emergence of the Zionist movement and of the state of Israel, even if the fact that he ends his book in the 1920s means that he would have stopped short of later developments and a discussion of the question whether Zionism could remain unaffected by the forces which transformed other nationalist movements and led them, in Talmon's words, to adopt "authoritarian attitudes towards foreign nations and lesser breeds".

The fact that Talmon ends in the 1920s and with what he regards as the crucial schism between totalitarian revolution and social democracy means that he does not go very far into an analysis of the nature of fascism. He has some fifty interesting pages entitled "From Georges Sorel

to Benito Mussolini" in which he emphasizes the importance of Sorel's break with the rationalism of Marx and the links between Sorel's vision of the fascist role of the revolutionary dynamism of a new national elite. He also emphasizes, as others have, the similarities between Mussolini's and Lenin's welcoming of war as a necessary prelude to revolution, an opportunity to be seized rather than a disaster to be averted. But the section on Italian fascism tallies off with a rather inconclusive account of the fascist view of empire.

There is the same sense of almost perfunctory unfinished business in the final chapters called "The Dilemmas of the German Revolution of 1918" and "Hitler in the Wings". The former gives Talmon a chance to reflect on the tragedy of Rosa Luxemburg, a figure who clearly fascinated him with her mixture of liberal culture and her relentless intellectual Marxism. He sees her as someone increasingly driven to follow courses of which she fundamentally disapproved. Thus she came to advocate the centralized revolutionary party she had once attacked, and was obliged through her past revolutionary rhetoric to join an uprising which she had opposed and which she knew was bound to fail. After this the few pages about Hitler seem an anticlimax, not because they lack insight or feeling, but because it is not quite clear how this discussion of Hitler's place in the genealogy of antisemitism and the road to the Holocaust links up with what has gone before.

Perhaps Talmon, conscious that his time and strength were limited, could only sketch the direction in which his ideas were moving, and if he had lived, would have developed a full-scale analysis of fascism as one of the embodiments of the movement towards "totalitarian democracy" along the lines he sketches in his conclusion.

The book shows other signs of haste in the final stages: and the publishers have let pass many misspellings and misprints which the author would presumably have caught. Nevertheless it remains an extraordinary feat. Other historians have treated related themes - for instance James H. Billington in his exciting study of the revolutionary mentality *Fire in the Minds of Men* - but what distinguishes Talmon's writing is his overwhelming sense that ideas must be taken seriously and that it is in the history of ideas that we must look for an explanation of the disasters of the twentieth century, and what he calls "the life-and-death confrontation between two exclusive embracing ideologies of totalitarianism, so similar and yet so different."

This sense of the importance of ideas and their primacy over technologies or economics or strategy is rooted in a belief in the importance of the study of history, a Crocean conviction of conflict". There is little transparency to the decision-making process, little access for the outsider, too little incentive to innovate. Nor can one tell how much of the present stability is due to the chancelessness of Bruno Kreisky, whose charisma has helped the Socialists to increase their majority at three successive elections. He is seventy and alluring, his heir-apparent, the minister of finance Hannes Androsch, was forced to resign over conflict of interest accusations, and the administration of Vienna, which might otherwise supply new blood, is tarnished by corruption. The Opposition is woefully short of talent. Dr Sully does not speculate on these prospects; they may nevertheless call for a revised edition before long.



Rosa Luxemburg

tion of the necessity and possibility of recreating past states of mind. Talmon's attitude is summed up in the quotation from Michelet which he places on his title page. "L'histoire ne servira à rien, si l'on n'y met les tristesses du présent." Talmon's was a large and gloomy vision.

Even if some of the preoccupations from which he started in the years immediately after the Second World War - notably the dichotomy between communism and fascism - seem less central to contemporary historical analysis than they did then, the categories in which he discussed the history of European ideologies forced us to reconsider our view of many of them. And if some of the ideas and arguments in this final volume seem familiar, this is because Talmon himself consistently urged them in his earlier books and obliged us to face a challenge to many of the accepted ways of looking at the history of European political ideas since the eighteenth century.

James Joll was formerly Stevenson Professor of International History at the London School of Economics.

Democratic stability

Local Parties and Elections in Austria: the search for stability
Alan A. Sully
Cambridge University Press, £9.50
N 0 905838 44 0

Austrian political system bears superficial resemblance to the British: since 1966 there have been alternating single-party governments. It is not the apparently flattering notion of Westminster that attracts admirers like James Callaghan and Denis Healey, but the role of social peace in a mixed economy. Austria enjoys high unemployment, grade-to-welfare and is virtually strike-free.

Under these circumstances it is surprising that there is so little up-to-date English-language literature on Austrian politics and virtually none on specifically electoral politics. Dr Sully's monograph fills this gap admirably. The greater part of it necessarily consists of basic information on party organization, programmes, membership and electoral movements. But she does not lose sight of her subtitle, "the search for stability", for it is to this end that Austrian political activity has been almost obsessively directed.

The chief obstacle to the development of Austrian democracy has been *Legitimation*, the identification with political camps, which has its roots in the Habsburg Empire and the interwar Republic. The camps provided civil war extremes in the interwar Republic. The camps provided material and spiritual benefits. The socialist camp was Vienna-based, working-class, Marxist and

anti-clerical, the Catholic camp represented farmers, small businesses and the provinces; trade unions, co-operatives, farmers' leagues and vocational organizations were inextricably linked to the parties through overlaps in office-holding; party allegiance is frequently hereditary. Parties termed "worms in the embryo" of the body politic, the Great Coalition of 1945 to 1966 sought to build a national consensus and occupation and reconstruction succeeded in doing so. From being destroyers of the state, the *Legen* became its pillars. One could have wished for more substantial discussion of these dynamics of party affiliation, which are maintained through a vast patronage in jobs and services, and which help to explain Austria's extraordinary voting stability.

Post-war urbanization has helped to

shift Austria slightly to the left and this resulted in the displacement of the People's Party by the Socialists in 1970-71. But what has remained intact is the social partnership. The annual wage-price bargaining by statutory recognized interest representatives is virtually binding on both government and opposition, given the links between the bargainers and the party hierarchies. This process, which is at the heart of the Austrian miracle, is explained with clarity and detail, but even here the novice reader would not quite get the flavour of the extent to which partnership from the cabinet to the shop-floor has simply become a way of life.

There is a price to be paid for this life in the "land of the blessed", as the more self-admiring Austrians like to call it: "one paradoxical danger of the Second Republic has become its complacent stability and reliance on automatic procedures for the resolution of conflict".

Peter Pulzer

Peter Pulzer is tutor in politics at Christ Church, Oxford.

BOOKS

Teaching values

Political Education and Democracy
by Tom Brennan
Cambridge University Press, £3.95
ISBN 0 521 28267 5

I read this book with some interest. I am a chief examiner for the London University Board for the A level in Government and Political Studies, the most advanced of the GCE syllabuses in politics. I took on the job partly because of professional impatience with existing syllabuses in politics, partly to see how far political studies could be pushed at this level.

But the first three chapters of this odd, passionate, ill-digested and disguised book by the chairman of the Politics Association, an ex-teacher and lecturer, almost turned me off the subject of political education for good. They are pretty disastrous. Inspired by a mild observation by Bernard Crick that education reflects the values of the political and social order everywhere, and is not merely a feature of bourgeois-capitalist society, Mr Brennan apparently can equate the gentle process which stems from a multiplicity of influences in a country like Britain with the intensive official indoctrination of children in the USSR. This sets the tone for this half of the book. Mr Brennan then goes on to discuss the role of political education in offsetting the values inculcated by the British "establishment".

Anxious against the middle classes and the public schools runs like a thread through the rest of these chapters, and it is not long before the facile theorems of socialism begin to peep shyly through the narrative. "One possible outcome of political education is that the disadvantaged may seek a more equitable distribution of goods and resources" (page 10) is closely followed by the observation that the same education "can be constructively directed towards a pattern of political and social change which will give greater emphasis on the ideas of social justice" (page 12) whatever these may be, and if there has not been enough argument about them to fill a library. Such glib observations arising from such a pseudo-sophisticated narrative point up the essential shyness of this book. If the author hopes to rescue political education from Lord Arran's jibe that it is a socialist conspiracy this is not the way to go about it.

Things get worse in this first half. The author briefly - far too briefly (in half a page) - discusses the difference between education and socialization and then demonstrates that he really doesn't understand the difference. He is essentially a determinist of a Marxist type, unable to admit that individual children can ultimately attain to understanding and maturity of judgment without being conditioned. He has, I think, basically no belief in education as I, and I believe, Bernard Crick, who founded the Politics Association, understand it. Socialization of the political elite by the public schools he should lecture in some of these, as I have, "to discover that the socialization process in these establishments is far from as complete as he believes" has to be offset by the same process on behalf of (sinister term) the underprivileged. From all this comes the impression that he has no respect for the private intellectual development of individual children, evidence of which gives me so much pleasure when I read the better criticisms of the London A-level candidate.

"Private" is in any case a term which Mr Brennan would have little use for. In this I suppose he is not to be blamed - lack of regard for the individual educational process is commonplace in many of our contemporary educational theorists. But the result of the title of his book is misleading. Both education and democracy have to be assisted, preferably by the likes of Mr Brennan. I have always thought that political education has to be approached with

some sort of sensitivity towards the capacity of children to assimilate it. If this consideration has been blindly used in the past against political education, it does not mean that some intelligent appreciation of these limitations should not condition what is possible; that understanding the pulls of class, race, religion, the intractability of institutions, the complexity of moral decision, the brevity of life, need some adult experience. Not so Mr Brennan. The 1943 Norwood Report, which hesitantly made some of these points, is dismissed as ill-famed and reactionary. Mr Brennan apparently believes that problems that have beset political philosophers and politicians for centuries can be solved by nine-year olds.

After this, things get better. Chapters five and six, on the traditional and practical barriers to developing political education in schools is sensible stuff, which the author deals with

competently from a wide practical experience. The final chapter, on some of the preconditions of a functioning democracy, is well-developed and penetrating. The book shows some odd cleavages between the author's practical and theoretical judgments; its weakness is that nowhere are these evident tensions resolved.

The book is not helped by the enormous number of ill-digested excerpts from a very large number of authorities, which are thrown, sometimes six to a page, at the reader. Less passion, less haste, more judgment and more distance from the subject would have helped enormously. There is a good book to be written on political education, but this, sadly, is not it.

S. A. Walkland

S. A. Walkland is professor of politics at the University of Sheffield.

Cool and objective

Faces of Feminism: a study of feminism as a social movement
by Olive Banks
Martin Robertson, £15.00 and £5.50
ISBN 0 85520 261 and 260 2

In *Faces of Feminism* Olive Banks has written a courageously un-fashionable book. In the long-ago 1950s we were taught that the highest virtue in the social sciences was impersonal objectivity, and that methodology was merely a systematic way of separating fact from opinion. Olive Banks writes in this tradition. She is a sociologist with an honourable feminist pedigree pre-dating the radicalism of the 1960s which instituted passionate rhetoric as the required house style. She remains resolutely cool, even dry.

The sub-title of her book indicates its intention - "a study of feminism as a social movement". In fact it proves to be an exercise in descriptive social history which charts the parallel developments of British and American feminist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It draws entirely on secondary sources, but given the large number of these publications on specialist aspects of feminism this is not unreasonable: the time is surely ripe for a survey of this material, new and old. Professor Banks takes us painstakingly through the history of feminist writers and pressure groups, period by period.

The main contention of the book is that there exist three main intellectual traditions in Anglo-American feminism stemming, respectively, from the Enlightenment, from Evangelical Christianity and from socialism. The contradictions to which these diverse inspirations give rise both within and between the three broad tendencies are brought out very clearly in the text. The Enlightenment tradition is the one of feminist demands for equal rights and rewards in work, education, law, and in sexual and family matters. The Evangelical tradition drew women into moral crusades (against slavery, prostitution, drunkenness) and paternalistic (sic) philanthropy: it left a deep mistrust of men and of sexual pleasure but fostered an idealization of puritan celibacy oddity, though not illogically, combined with a view that the essential nature of woman lay in her actual or potential motherhood. The socialist tradition with its collectivist ideals was the source of feminist critiques of marriage and the private family.

Evangelical and equal-rights feminists were bitter opponents over the issues of protective legislation for women workers, birth control and the repression of female sexuality. The socialist feminists have visited every position on the spectrum where these issues are concerned, sometimes, for example, advocating free love and supporting women's right to control their own bodies, sometimes assuming that socialism will ultimately reduce the place of sexuality to the minimum necessary for reproduction because truer satisfactions will be available.

One can see, then, that the internal tensions which trouble contemporary feminism are not a simple

porary feminism are not a simple consequence of intellectual muddle or of schism: they lay at the heart of feminism from the start. Of course each tradition undergoes mutation over time and the site of the contradictions alters. Yet the historical continuities are striking and not always obvious. Consider this case. The Evangelical pioneers quietly overturned a long-tradition of Catholic and Calvinist theology which had seen woman as the source of sexual temptation and thus as spiritually and morally inferior to man, standing in need of his protective control. The bourgeois moral crusader of the nineteenth century established the exact reverse: the blame for fleshly lust was placed squarely on the men while women, the madonnas/mothers, were raised above sexuality and entrusted with a divine mission to erase moral corruption and reclaim those who had fallen victim to male vice.

This little revolution is no less astonishing and far-reaching in its way than that famous mutation in the Calvinist doctrine of predestination of which Max Weber made so much. Its legacy to the feminist movement was a powerful doctrine of female superiority couched in a language of intense moral fervour. Present-day radical feminists, particularly those on the principled lesbian wing, superficially bear little resemblance to those "conservative" pioneers, yet a secularized version of the Evangelical legacy is their distinguishing characteristic.

The Evangelical tradition is for me the most fascinating part of the story, not because the Enlightenment and socialist traditions contributed less to the subsequent history of the movement but because the Evangelical component seems to be the causally vital one. The most important sentence in the book comes on the penultimate page where Olive Banks ruefully admits that her attempt at comparative analysis is something of a failure since the British and American movements are so disappointingly similar. It might be helpful to look at cases where no feminist movement appeared, she suggests, and points to France which, despite being the home of the Enlightenment and a fertile source of communitarian socialism nevertheless proved barren ground for feminism. Germany, by contrast, can boast both Protestantism and a native feminist movement. Now there we have a genuinely important Weberian hypothesis for comparative sociology. Of course presence or absence of Evangelical Protestantism may not be the only variable. Olive Banks may not be sufficient causes and hints that the "demographic surplus" of females in the nineteenth century cannot have been a negligible factor.

Professor Banks's style is perfectly clear and accurate though merciless in its extrusion of elegance or eloquence. I found myself longing to hear the authentic voices of the historical protagonists rather than having their lives and convictions reduced to brief memoranda. Reading the book is therefore more of a more than the content deserves, because Olive Banks's argument is both interesting and important.

Bernice Martin

Bernice Martin is lecturer in sociology at Bedford College, London.

Large assertions

Hannah Arendt and the Search for a New Political Philosophy
by Bhikhu Parekh
Macmillan, £20.00
ISBN 0 333 30474 8

Hannah Arendt was one of the most engaging and one of the most infuriating of political philosophers.

Her work was full of large assertions about the nature of the modern world, uttered as if factual evidence for or against them was neither here nor there; she used to issue unperceptive definitions - of freedom, for instance, and especially of power - and then employ them as if they unconsciously illuminated large tracts of contemporary politics; she used to set up stark oppositions - between action and behaviour, say, or between work and labour - and use them to rewrite the history of political thought in an astonishingly wilful fashion; in the process, she threw out and wasted enough interesting insights to justify several academic careers. But at a time when political philosophy in the Anglo-American world was mostly reduced to dull conceptual analysis, and when philosophy in general was exceedingly modest in its claims for itself, she unabashedly announced that philosophy was the highest form of intellectual life, and the real philosopher - as opposed to the logician or the mere technician - a hero or virtuoso of the *vita contemplativa*.

Bhikhu Parekh is, I fear, not quite the person to do her justice; he is too sensible, too decent, too cautious, and too concerned to write something useful. To baffled students, his book will be invaluable - as it will be to people who teach political theory and want some idea of where Miss Arendt fits in, but don't want to spend too long getting it; he writes clearly, covers the ground thoroughly and systematically, and is never wild. Sometimes stern in criticism, he is always generous with praise. Still, he leaves me banking after something less inhibited. He writes with enough exasperation in his manner to suggest that he would often have liked to call in the demolition men; he can't help remarking that almost any point Miss Arendt makes is an exaggeration. However, his criticisms are a shade unconvincing, since he can never quite bring himself to declare a whole branch of her views no good.

Which Miss Arendt's phenomenological approach produces; there is a sense in which her insistence on treating politics as politics-and-not-something-else is a necessary component of any political philosophy. What he dislikes is the exaggeration, which plays down the importance of human welfare, turns politics into mere theatre, and concentrates all its attention on heroic moments. Politics may be about more than the routine management of human welfare, but too snobbish a view of these matters is no more attractive than too piggish a view.

Alan Ryan
Alan Ryan is a fellow of New College, Oxford.

Joint Winner of the Wolfson Literary Award for History, 1981

A Liberal Descent

Victorian Historians and the English Past
J. W. BURROW

The Idea of a 'Whig Interpretation' of English history incorporates the two fundamental notions of progress and continuity. The former made it possible to read English history as a 'success story', the latter endorsed a pragmatic, gradualist political style as the foundation of English freedom.

Dr Burrow explores these ideas, and the tensions between them, in studies of four major Victorian historians: Macaulay, Stubbs, Freeman and Froude. He analyses their works in terms of their rhetorical suggestiveness as well as their explicit arguments, and he places them in their cultural and historiographical context.

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Just in case

BOOKS

world elsewhere

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ryn Williams
rsity of Wales Press, £3.95
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lph Berry
illan, £15.00
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apeare and the Romance
S. White
ide Free Press, £2.50
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ap in Shakespeare: the motif
sion from Richard II to
ttempt
lla N. Manlove
Press, £10.95
0 85478 444 6

Glory: Shakespeare and the
ance image of man
n Chaudhuri
don Press: Oxford University
£12.50
0 19 812801 0

Shakespeare industry maintains
put in spite of the recession
ere, and it is remarkable that
pects can still be uncovered,
sights gleaned. Of these five
oks, that of Professor Gwynn
is the slightest. It proposes
subject the masks which
eare's characters interpose
themselves and the world,
relationships - the "bonds" -
oy make or break by means
f. In fact, only two of the
hich make up this volume
uch bearing on the theme,
rest consists of stimulating
n only half developed anip-
a variety of topics, with one
rable essay on the Welshmen
ford whom Shakespeare may
now through their involve-
with his faller in the civic
of the town.

ssor Berry's book has more
ce. "With Shakespeare" he
one always finds a principle
er that expresses itself in a
de of ways", and the book
es the "structuring strategy"
umber of plays to identify the
ing pattern of each. Professor
prime interest is in the lan-
and the controlling principle
is, therefore, is apt to lie in a
ous metaphor or a consistent
ce pattern. In *Henry VI, part*
example, the concept of the
in literal and metaphorical
holds the play together: in
e for *Measure* the organiza-
depends on the consistent use of
ge carrying sexual undertones
the characters themselves
conscious; and in *Timon*, on
otological meanings below the
of so much of the speech.

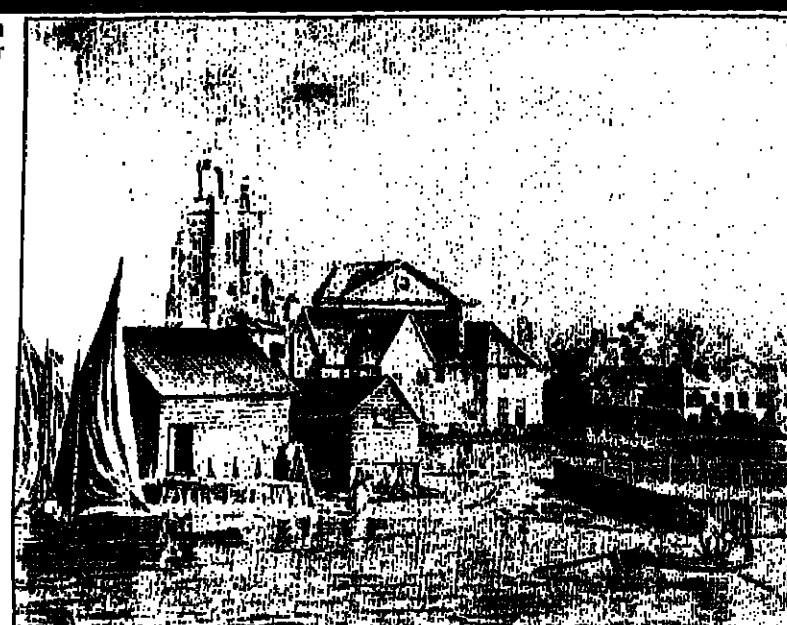
ssor Berry has a talent for
g to light and pursuing with
onal thoroughness, the latent
ans of metaphor which are
y unperceived; but there are
in this preoccupation which
tends in the chapter on
t. Here the centre of the play
ital source of its motives is
to be a strongly erotic rela-
between Alcibiades and his
and sexual double meanings
covered in almost every ex-
between them, all of them
of language sanctioned by the
after than by the play itself.
Prior scene we are told "the
om has a natural womb refer-
ing, turning the key, together
locking are commonplace us-
sexual entry"; there are phil-
ertones in "You do unbend-
ble strength" or in "Vaulting
n" o'er-leaping itself, to
nly two instances, and Lady
s "Oh, Oh, Oh" in the
ing scene becomes "the
of an orgasmic light from
hours of the night of the
after "the second cock"
now the listening doctor
s "It, and it out-Poohs the

Pooh-Perplex. Yet overall, this is a
much better book than the chapter
on *Macbeth* might suggest.

Dr White's *Shakespeare and the
Romance Ending* represents an in-
teresting venture in publication from
the Tyneside Free Press, being
printed privately in a limited edition
for the astonishingly low price of
£2.50. In these days of costly books
this is a very welcome experiment,
although the combination of small
print and a closely argued text does
not make for easy reading. Dr White
argues that dramatic comedy de-
mands a firm structure which culmi-
nates in a final and decisive ending,
whereas the romance is essentially
unfolding, always opening out onto
new horizons and suggesting further
episodes to come. The human mind
enjoys both the sense of completion
and of endlessness and the book
explores most interestingly
Shakespeare's varied attempts to
combine these two qualities in the
endings of his plays - in *The Mer-
chant of Venice*, for example, which
refuses to end at its natural climax
of the trial scene, or in *The Tempest*
with its astonishing blend of strict
time and timelessness. I am not con-
vinced, however, that the models of
the comedy and the romance were
the only ones which Shakespeare had
in mind. The endings of *Love's
Labours Lost* and *Twelfth Night*
seem less a change from the mode of
comedy to romance than a rejection
of both for the reality of common
day.

Colin Manlove's lively and person-
al book deals with Shakespeare's
obsessive concern with division - be-
tween good and evil, mind and body,
motive and action, the individual and
society, to name only a few of the
many polarities; and all of them present-
ing dilemmas which Shakespeare
sometimes manages to evade but
never resolve. This is so much a
quality of the plays that Manlove
sees it as something personal to
Shakespeare, and makes a plea for
this as nowadays a very unfash-
ionable autobiographical approach. This
may be a fair way to interpret
Shakespeare - although it should be
remembered that the period as a
whole was one of deep perplexity,
and in any case, division has always
been the bread and butter of the
dramatist. The main weakness of this
book is that it shows little awareness
of a play as a dramatic experience in
the theatre: the reference is always
to "reading" the plays, and many of
the questions Manlove raises might
not appear as problems in the
theatre itself. For example, does the
experience of *King Lear* in the
theatre support his diagnosis that the
play works by "a calculated discor-
dancy of action in which characters do
not behave in normal and cred-
ible ways", thus forcing us to pene-
trate below the surface in search of
the ideas they embody? *Godot* or
The Fieriest Queen perhaps, but
scarcely *Lear*. Manlove's main criticism
of Shakespeare, that he cannot
show the process and development
of falling in love, only characters
violently in or out of it, comes, I
think, from forgetting that the drama
is based in action, and from judging
the plays by standards of the novel.
This is a book which will stimulate
fruitful disagreement.

The last and the most considerable
of these five books is that of Profes-
sor Chaudhuri, who examines
Shakespeare's plays in relation to the
line of Renaissance scepticism as
represented by Agrippa, Rabelais,
Montaigne, Bacon, Burton, Donne
and others. Scepticism assumes that
human reason cannot attain a know-
ledge of the truth; that "the senses
can only give a false impression of
external reality, and that words and
logic bear no real relationship to the
things and processes outside which
they are supposed to signify. All we
perceive, and the only subjective ex-
perience, and the only promptings
we can follow, are those of instinct
and intuition. This, for Professor
Chaudhuri, is the world of
Shakespeare's plays. Hamlet is the
truth-seeker vainly trying to make
sense of a world which has none;
Troilus and Cressida represents a
state lacking all rational and positive
values; and *Measure for Measure* one
so full of insoluble dilemmas that the
only way out is through the impulse
of blind charity. Out of this state of
things, however, there emerges a
new kind of heroism, one in which
the hero turns his eyes inward and
struggles to establish his own integri-



This aquatint from 1790 shows the waterfront at Twickenham, with the old vicarage and Dial House. It is reproduced from Images of Twickenham, by Bamber Gascoigne and Jonathan Ditchburn (Saint Helena Press, £70.00).

ty. Lear's final greatness has nothing
to do with the justification or estab-
lishment of a divine order but in-
heres in the intensity of his own
emotions and the discovery of his
own strength in the face of the un-
known. Antony and Cleopatra dis-
pense with all external moral stan-
dards and accept only the validity
and splendour of their own desires.
Macbeth is not the great but erring
man destroyed like Faust by exter-
nal and divine powers which he
seeks to circumvent: instead, he is
more a Tamburlaine figure, ruthles-
sly making peace within himself by
the destruction of one half of his
instincts to fulfil the other.

Professor Chaudhuri does not
deny the existence in the tragedies of
a divine order or a great chain of
being: he merely says that it is not
what the heroes are concerned with.
Their eyes are turned inward: "The
moral centre has passed within
man".

Endless poetry

*Browning's Beginnings: the art
of disclosure*
by Herbert F. Tucker, Jr.
University of Minnesota Press,
\$22.50
ISBN 0 8166 0946 2

I. A. Richards once entitled an essay
"How Does a Poem Know When It
is Finished?"; Barbara Herrnstein
Smith examined this question at
length in *Poetic Closure* (1968) with-
out saying much about Browning.
For Herbert F. Tucker in *Browning's
Beginnings* the idea of closure pro-
vides an essential key to that poet's
art; for Browning was the enemy of
closure or enclosure in any sense, a
believer in the endlessness of mean-
ing and the limitlessness of human
possibility, and thus the forerunner
of the antisclosure tendency of the
poetry of the twentieth century.

The word "beginnings", in Mr
Tucker's title, refers not merely to
Browning's earliest poems but to the
principal characteristic of his style, a
perpetual self-renewal and deferral
of conclusion. His central moral doc-
trine, the celebrated "philosophy of
the imperfect" has a clear aesthetic
analogue in his poetics. "From the
formal effects of its largest structures
to the minutiae of its verbal style,
Browning's is an art of disclosure, an
art that resists its own finalities,"
creating new poetic forms that
accomplish the relationships of
age to infancy, and of present to
future.

A true poem, thus visualized, is
one that extends, fractures and re-
creates the formal resources of poet-
ry, and that often takes the process
of re-creation as one of its subjects.
"Browning aims to move his read-
er with words whose meaning is
their motion," and for him "meaning

is not something that poetry posses-
ses once and for all; it is what poetry
does and keeps doing." Just as the
villains and failures who figure in so
many of his monologues have minds
that reach completion, triumph, or
stability prematurely, so his poems
perpetually resist the anxiety for
complete understanding and final
conclusion. Browning's best poems are
open-ended, and his heroes are those
whose ends are merely new begin-
nings.

Mr Tucker's aim is thus analytical
rather than critical, and his elaborate
commentaries on the style and struc-
ture of *Pauline* and *Paracelsus* clarify
the intentions of these turgid early
works without changing one's im-
pression of their mediocrity. But the
treatment of the dramatic lyrics of
the forties and fifties is consistently
illuminating, and the interpretations
of a selection of these poems chosen
as "test cases for the present argu-
ment about Browning's lyric inten-
tions" reveal so many new meanings
in familiar passages as to make the
argument very persuasive.

But though this study provides an
excellent account of the origins and
the subtle functioning of Browning's
characteristic style, a curious result
of the analysis is its demonstration
of how uncharacteristic of this style the
ever-popular *Pippa Passes* actually
is. The explanation offered of
Browning's intentions in *Pippa* is un-
convincing and some consideration
of that other puzzling aberration,
Christmas Eve, for which the poet
himself originally had such great
hopes, might have served to suggest
that for all its value as an analytical
tool Mr Tucker's approach has not
finally plucked out the heart of
Browning's mystery.

J. W. Harper
Dr Harper is senior lecturer in English
at the University of York.

Romantic settings

The Romantics
edited by Stephen Prickett
Methuen, £9.50 and £4.95
ISBN 0 416 72010 2 and 72020 X
*Romanticism and Ideology: studies in
English writing 1785-1830*
by David Aers, Jonathan Cook and
David Punter
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £6.95
ISBN 0 7100 0781 7

The Romantics is a useful contribu-
tion to the series "The Context of
English Literature", which aims to
present the background to writing in
each period rather than to survey or
criticize it.

The book does, though, illustrate
the difficulties of interdisciplinary
collaboration, at Sussex as else-
where. Colin Brooks's chapter "Eng-
lish 1782-1832" gives a wonderfully
compressed account of many histor-
ical topics, which he connects to
literature whenever he can. But in
places it reads like a summary for

young historians, who will not need
to be told who the Benthamite re-
formers were; and even these might
find it a bit indigestible. Literature
students may prefer a more selective
and expansive treatment such as
Marcia Pointon gives to "Romantic-
ism in English Art". Under this head-
ing some obvious topics like the fan-
tastic, the grotesque, and the popular
caricature are hardly mentioned, but
the main issues are well presented
and there are satisfying accounts of
directly relevant matters like the
iconography of the Chatterton por-
traits.

I had not realized the importance
of Robert Lowth until I read Dr
Prickett's clear and sensitive account
of "The Religious Context", which
seems the best chapter in the book.
In "The Roots of Imagination" T. J.
Diffey is obviously more at home
than with the epistemological problems
that reach the literature, despite
some valiant gestures. His leaps for-
ward and backward in time are dis-
concerting, especially when he twice
explicitly assigns to 1830 (nearly a
hundred years after Burke's *Enquiry*)
passages of Wordsworth's *Preface*
to *Lyrical Ballads* which were
present in 1802. Dr Prickett
should have rescued him from this
blunder (and might also have cor-
rected the reference to "domestic
affections" in a quotation from
Wordsworth's letter to Fox on page
65). *The Romantics* closes with a
judicious chapter by Dr Prickett on
developing conceptions of literature
in this period.

A good collection: yet its method
does not help the reader to sense the
"climate of opinion" at any literary
moment, or its fluctuations during
these fifty years. That is probably
best achieved by a chronological
account by one writer who can draw
on different disciplines - like Marilyn
Butler, in her *Romantic Rebel* and
Reactionaries. A table of dates might
have been a useful addition to Dr
Prickett's volume, especially as none
of the contributors follows a chrono-
logical plan.

There is something refreshing about
an "introduction to the writing"
of a period which vigorously dispar-
ages three of the six major authors it
discusses. In *Romanticism and Ideol-
ogy* three Marxists from the Uni-
versity of East Anglia "interrogate"
their authors to reveal where they
stand on the class war, social evils,
and relevant contemporary notions.
Jane Austen, blinkered by class pre-
judice and Burkean rhetoric, comes
off worst, but Wordsworth and Col-
eridge too are seen as notably lack-
ing in political and social engagement.
Hazlitt and Shelley do better: both
perceived problems which remain
crucial to radical criticism, but Haz-
litt was distracted by having to meet
deadlines, Shelley by Plato and epi-
tam. Blake, who has two essays to
himself and a substantial presence in
others, scores highest for political
awareness, but even his work affirms
"repressive male traditions". Scott,
whose achievement has found ap-
preciative Marxist critics, makes no
appearance here, and neither does
Keats. The volume includes an essay
on Gothic fiction by Dr Punter who,
as in his recent *Literature of Terror*,
finds evidence in the Gothic of dis-
placed social interests and antago-
nisms.

These judgments are reached
through some close criticism which is
usually alert and resourceful, some-
times convincing. Yet it too often
illuminates only one negative aspect.
Wordsworth is shown to lack a sense
of social interaction; Jane Austen's
awareness of the human reality of
the poor. But what possessed
Wordsworth, and what he lacked
she had in abundance: should not
credit have been given? Both writers
also possessed qualities which are of
less immediate interest to the time-
travelling radical, but which a stu-
dent being introduced to their work
needs to know about. As a contri-
bution to debates within the Marx-
ist camp the book has some value,
but its narrow interests and grinding
tone make it useless for its professed
purpose.

Derek Roper
Derek Roper is senior lecturer in Eng-
lish literature at the University of Shef-
field.

BOOKS

Categories of choice

Knowledge and the Flow of
Information
by Fred I. Dretske
Blackwell, £12.00
ISBN 0 631 12765 8

A soldier salutes the ceremonial
lowering of a flag - how can a
psychological description of the
event be formulated? For a her-
meneutical psychologist the action
can be described in terms of its
meanings for the individuals present,
and reduction to the component pro-
cesses is unjustified mechanistic.
The beliefs of individuals and their
understanding of events in the world
are deemed to be best described in
their social context, rather than in
terms of their component cognitive
processes. The problem with describ-
ing flag-lowering, for instance, is that
the meaning of the event is depen-
dent upon the knowledge of the in-
dividual participants. To describe it
as the operation of a set of arm muscles
in response to the changed position
of a piece of cloth would clearly miss
the point completely.

Information processing models of
human behaviour must face the chal-
lenge of describing a cognitive sys-
tem which can salute flags. Fred
Dretske provides us with a detailed
description of how a mechanistic
model can account for comprehen-
sion, conceptual analysis, and belief.
As a reply to the issues raised by
hermeneutical psychologists, his
book will do much to reassure the
information processing school of
their conceptual power.

How can a mechanistic model of
man account for understanding and
belief? The error of hermeneutics is
the failure to discriminate between
information and meaning, a distinc-
tion which is critical for Dretske.
Whereas the world of stimulus
events can be adequately described by
"information" contained in the
event, the "meaning" of the event
for an individual must be described
in terms of the information received
as a function of existing information
known to the organism.

The appreciation of the meaning
of an event depends upon the power
of the organism to convert informa-
tion from an analog to a digital rep-
resentation, and so the same event
can have different meanings for
different individuals depending upon
what they already know about the
event. I prefer to call this conversion
process as one of "categorization",
and understand it as the processing
of sensory information into a known
perceptual state, as when I recognize
an impression of colour in a painting
as a tulip, for instance. The conver-
sion of information into meanings
depends upon our previous experi-
ence of the world, but it also de-
pends upon our ability to use what
Dretske calls "third-order intentional
states".

As there seem to be as many de-
scriptions of intentionality as there
are philosophers, it is necessary to
say what Dretske means by this im-
portant qualification. Physical in-
formation systems cannot avoid
drawing the intentional inference
that, say, if an object is a square
then it must have four sides, or that
if water is freezing then it must be
ice. Such systems as thermo-
sensors and tape-recorders are said to
have no determinate or exclusive in-
formational content. Higher-order
intentional states which characterize
human information processing in-
volve the discrimination between the
relevance of information which form
the event, and the selection of in-
formation for conversion from the
analog to the digital form. A cere-
monial (tree-planting is not a simple
biocultural event because the parti-
cipants can categorize it as a cere-
mony whereas a pattern-recognition
machine might not have this concept.
It is this conversion or categoriza-
tion of selected information which
forms the basis of belief. Information
about the environment is digitalized
according to existing meanings held
by the cognitive system, and beliefs

correspond to the categorizations ap-
plied to that information. Some com-
puter programs can select and cate-
gorize information, and I am not
convinced that this means that they
can exhibit third-order intentionality
and therefore "understanding" and
"belief".

Dretske's model could form the
basis of a computer simulation be-
cause it is so well specified, but in
the process of describing concepts
such as belief with so much precision
he has necessarily selected one
meaning out of many which are
possible. All simulations change the
meanings of the concepts which they
take from behaviour, but the simula-
tor would argue that what they are
really doing is providing a more spe-
cific definition, and so it is with
Dretske's position. Dretske makes
little mention of artificially intelligent
information processors, and I would
have particularly welcomed an analy-
sis of well-known programs such as
PARRY, SHRDLU, or HACKER
in terms of the powers of intention-
ality which they may display and the
beliefs which they hold.

Dretske suggests how an informa-
tion processing system can develop
concepts from information which is
categorized first externally and later
according to known meanings. The
information in the world requires
meaning for the perceiving system
when it is able to categorize it
according to previous experience.
Categorization involves the matching
of an event to a known concept, but
the meanings which comprise the
concept must be derived from the
individual accumulation of informa-
tion about instances previously de-
scribed as category-members. Third-
order intentionality is, of course, an
essential part of the selection process
in categorization; otherwise the tree-

Science policy out of line

*Science and Technology Policy:
priorities of governments*
by C. A. Tisdell
Chapman and Hall, £12.00
ISBN 0 412 23320 7

Professor Tisdell's book derives from
a report on "priority assessment in
science and technology policy" which
he prepared for the Australian Sci-
ence and Technology Council. Both in
content and in form it leads one to
consider it from two distinct perspec-
tives. First, there is the question of
its adequacy as a treatment of the
issues it addresses; second, there is
that of the implications for policy of
the author's conclusions.

The book was written for a high
level government advisory body, to
help them form an opinion on the
direction Australian policy in this
area should take. Ignoring the fact
that governments have have prefer-
red the view that there is, and
should be, no such thing as a science
and technology policy (only research
policies), we can nevertheless read
the book with an eye on policy here.

The literature of science policy re-
search, as an area of inquiry, is now
substantial, and diverse in its origins
in the social science disciplines.
There is a good deal bearing on
"priority assessment", especially as
Professor Tisdell defines it to include
such issues as the mechanisms by
which decisions are, or should be,
reached. In the first half of the book
this literature is reviewed, the well
established economic arguments for
government support for research
being rehearsed. In a classic paper
Nelson showed many years ago how
the market would naturally tend to
under-invest, especially in basic re-
search. More recently others have
shown that there would be similar
market failures, from the social point
of view, in research and develop-
ment directed towards many aspects
of public welfare. This literature can-
not be seen as making a case for
government support for research
(rather than commercial develop-
ment), and Professor Tisdell sketches
briefly many of its economic aspects.
In fact, I was left frequently regret-

planting ceremony would be cate-
gorized according to its horticultural
attributes.

Dretske's discussions of the fea-
tures which dictate category mem-
bership, and how their derivation
varies from individual to individual,
helps to specify the relationship be-
tween concepts and beliefs, but
would have gained valuable support
from a consideration of the evidence
about categorization collected from
such psychologists as Eleanor Rosch
and Edward Smith. In turn, their
formulations will benefit from the
selection process implicit in the no-
tion of high-order intentionality.

Third-order intentionality is
perhaps the most important attribute
for an information processing system
which is to be seen to have under-
standing and belief, but it depends
on the ability of the system to dis-
criminate and choose. Humans can
choose those aspects of the environ-
ment which are important and which
deserve attention, whereas simple in-
formation systems such as tape-
recorders cannot. Choice is at the
essence of understanding, and this
notion is not unacceptable to existen-
tialists and those cognitive psycho-
logists for whom choice is an essen-
tial purpose of consciousness. Intelli-
gence is embodied in the decisions
we make. The remaining problem is
that mechanism provides no simple
account of the experiential quality of
consciousness. If the information
processing machine cannot be aware
of the world (and indeed, aware of
itself) then it is an inadequate model
of man.

Geoffrey Underwood

Geoffrey Underwood is lecturer in
psychology at the University of Not-
tingham.

ting the brevity with which issues are
treated.

Most of this part of the book
emphasizes technological innovation,
and there is very little on priorities
within, or for, the "scientific com-
munity" as such. Relevant studies
here have tended to be from within
sociology, or political science, and
Professor Tisdell seems to be less
happy in handling material of this
kind. Indeed his treatment of the
consequences of technological in-
novation - again all too brief - suf-
fers from this too. The social, and to
some extent environmental, conse-
quences of technological change are a
matter of widespread concern, and
the author seems half to recognize
that an economic calculus is insuffi-
cient. He after all observes that
"new technology affects and can
change the whole structure of soci-
ety" (page 100), a belief which would
seem to entail a somewhat more ex-
tended treatment.

I have similar worries with the
second half of the book, which treats
the science and technology priorities
of a number of large and small
OECD countries. The accounts are
too obviously based on an uncritical
reading of official documents. We
get an account of the priorities (how
similar they are), but we get no
sense of the political controversy
which in many cases surrounds them,
nor of the true significance of these
statements-of-intent. For example,
we are told how different countries
try to handle interdepartmental co-
ordination in this area, but nothing of
the constraints imposed by differing
political cultures and administrative
traditions.

It is true that there are difficulties
in extracting "lessons" for Britain.
Yet however aware of such subtleties
we cannot but notice how out of
line we do too much basic research
and too little applied, when by inter-
national standards we do very little
basic research. We stand aside from
a general trend towards the more
systematic consideration of science
and technology policies and from a
tendency to conceive national prior-
ities in broad "strategic" terms. In
most OECD countries an account
such as this would provoke some
anxieties in official circles. But in
this respect too we are out of line.

Stuart Blume

Stuart Blume is a senior research fel-
low at the London School of Econo-
mics.

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Don's diary

Tuesday

Arrive at office without the sweat of getting two children up, breakfasted and off to school - half-term at last. Secretary on holiday, sweat instead with the administration of the coming weekend conference: "The Fringes of Science," an event intended to explore some problematic issues which seem to challenge fundamental scientific assumptions. Reminded how time consuming it is to move bits of paper from one envelope to another. Encouraged by the morning's crop of cheques - past the break-even point - the countdown to the conference is on. Skim notes for the afternoon's teaching and have a stimulating session with postgraduates for nearly three hours. 5.30pm, feeling limp, but take books and handouts into the first session of this term's voluntary study skills course for students. Chat to colleague running the session, my turn another week. Three students shyly turn up - anxious moments - was the effort worthwhile, the planning, the 500 brochures, the memos, the reminders? Relieved to learn at end of session (7.00pm) that 12 students eventually arrived.

Wednesday

A thoroughly good day. Two observations of new staff teaching occupy all morning. Each new member of the teaching staff with limited teaching experience is required to attend an 80-hour in-service course on teaching methods, and observation of teaching performance is part of the course. All goes well and the appraisal chais are as interesting as ever. Convinced the exercise is worthwhile and that reassurance to new lecturers is probably more valuable than the gentle mention of minor problems. After bar lunch comes an examination board meeting with the external examiner for a postgraduate diploma course. One of the major satisfactions in teaching is to see a final set of assessment grades and to reflect that you have contributed at least a little. Gratified that two distinctions are awarded, relieved that action on problem cases is quickly agreed. Dash back to office on another polytechnic site, slipping into different role as external examiner to polish up report on a university MSc thesis.

Thursday

Early start for a faculty board meeting. Spent half an hour discussing student representation though recall only five student appearances at meetings in the last five years. Pace quickens as lunch-time hunger pains intensify. Suffer the usual headache after 3 1/2-hour meeting. Photocopy papers for course planning response to consider further response to CNA visit report, which in turn took account of our earlier response to preliminary CNA comments on our 70-page course document. The end must be in sight. Planning papers, now two ring-binder files thick, made a mental note to start a third file. Smooth running meeting - as chairman I didn't after all need to use strategies 3a and 4b in cases of major disagreement. Spend rest of afternoon booking hotels for conference participants and checking speakers' audio-visual requirements.

Friday

The day the media took over. It started with an article in the *Daily Telegraph* and in the *Sheffield Morning Telegraph* about the conference. The words paranormal and metal bending were enough to start the telephone ringing. Topics in "The Fringes of Science" embraced much more than extrasensory perception and psychokinesis but the media hooked on these and would have no other. Managed to deflect all inter-

views to my philosopher colleague and conference co-organizer. Yes, he would be willing to give an interview to Radio Hlam and Radio Sheffield. Yes, he does happen to have a daughter who bends spoons, but that's not really the point. . . . To no avail. Next Radio Belfast (what on earth do they want?). Will we do a radio link-up discussion? - Bounce that one too onto my co-organizer. Yorkshire TV want to interview our speaker on research into metal bending. "Sorry he's too tied up videotaping a Sheffield psychic phenomenon and will probably miss *Look North*. Conference numbers drift up - decide at last to move to a larger room. Groan in contemplation at the need to inform speakers, chairmen, technicians and porters. Colleague agrees to prepare new notices.

Saturday

Conference Day. 8.30am. Arrive with 10-year-old daughter as unpaid bill-poster and conference registration officer. She handles rush of early arrivals with calm competence. "Go away Daddy, you're getting me confused." Help arrives with colleague's 11-year-old daughter. Almost predictably, video equipment for one speaker is incompatible with our gear. S.O.S. to senior technician having a quiet lunch with family 10 miles away. Takes three different keys to get into the equipment store - I haven't got one - obviously not trustworthy. Reflect ruefully that as a PhD research student in science at university I was entrusted with a key which allowed access to about £1m of apparatus. Conference papers and discussion go well. Media satisfied at last - interviews all round. But questions for me still unanswered - how does a five year old child contort a metal bar by touch - a feat to exceed the strength of Geoff Capes. Amazed that simple nonconforming faces fail to inspire investigation from the best brains available.

Sunday

Time at last to reflect on hernia repair tomorrow. Give church choir a miss and gather up bits and pieces for brief hospital stay. Ring up hospital to see what is needed - last hernia repair (the other side) 12 years ago. "Sorry no leaflets love, just bring what you need for your holidays" was the chirpy reply. Dutifully took two completed forms to hospital admissions. Girl repeated the questions orally, copied the answers on to another form and promptly tore mine up. At last found a place where there is more paperwork than this poly.

Monday

Operation day. The porter swings into action early - obviously number one on his form. So early had to wait an hour in delightful stupor after pre-operation jab. Apparently the surgeon had not read his form properly - hence the delay. Glad about two large arrows on abdomen - wouldn't want the old wound reopened. Came round surprisingly quickly - eventually feel as though I have held a Dennis Lillee delivery. "Straighten up love" orders the nurse as we go on the regulation therapeutic hobble down the corridor - has she ever had a 5' cut? Bedtime - relief at last with the sleep-inducing injection. Drift off into the drugged dream of the unconscious. Yes, I will get those papers written next week in all that wonderful free time - once I have got the form done - the sick note Form Med 3, the BF 11 CW. Promises, promises.

Stuart Trickey

The author is principal lecturer in education services at Sheffield City Polytechnic.

When work loses its old appeal



Patrick Nuttgens

Any kind of further or higher education, there will be massive unemployment, especially for unskilled labour and probably for women who have been engaged in the kind of paperwork that is now being replaced.

In any event we need a radical look at the world of work and a redefinition of work if we are to take a positive view of the future of the living community. There is no shortage of studies. At Cambridge and Sussex universities alone a mass of information and comment has been put together. The material for a radical new look is available. There is little sign of any answers or one of any fundamental discussion from politicians or the unions, some of which will no doubt die as the crisis operates. But the urgency is great; we await, I suppose, a major statement and coherent policy.

To put it another way, the study of the theory is available and there can be no doubt of the reality of the problem. The Pope's encyclical on it aptly appropriates to a wider world than just ours in this country, talking of the new developments in technological, economic and political conditions which will influence the world of work and production. He lists "many factors of a general nature: the widespread introduction of automation into many spheres of production; the increase in the cost of energy and raw materials; the growing realization that the breeding of nature is limited and that it is being intolerably polluted; and the emergence on the political scene of peoples who, after centuries of subjection, are demanding their right place among the nations and in international decision-making."

There is a salutary comment by readers of this paper when he says of social groups who may in shaping social systems and conditions of living, find themselves in a "polarized" situation, and points out that "this can be true of certain categories or groups of the working intelligentsia", especially when over-education and diplomas are accompanied by a drop in demand for their labour.

That has a now familiar and ominous ring. The challenge to us with it intellectually is surely to find the world of higher education. And I am sure it demands a redefinition of the meaning of work - a much wider and more comprehensive view than we have usually taken. As Sir Lewis Mumford wrote in *Technics and Civilization* in 1934: "Not work, but production for its own sake or for the sake of utility, and not work as the normal expression of a disciplined life, are the marks of a rational economic society."

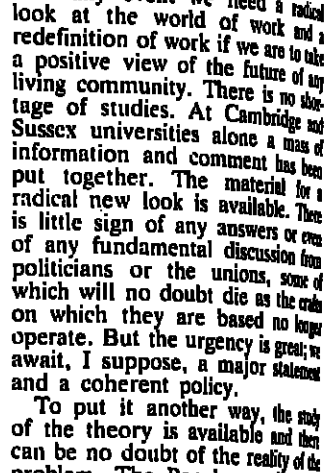
any other department, including Defence. The biggest loser has been the Department of Industry. So let us give credit where it is due - Sir Keith Joseph is a doughty fighter for his corner.

What we do not yet know is where the extra money will go. Mr Mark Carlisle's policy was to protect the schools, in which he was following a long-standing DES prejudice. There is a danger, however, that Sir Keith will see this differently.

In the first place, it will prove impossible for some universities to protect their academically strong and forward-looking departments unless there is more help. Third year targets are often so great that cuts in the first and second years will be of a scale that all departments will be affected and so much extra redundancy pay will be involved that the Treasury will not make its expected savings in those years.

The degree to which the former CATs are being cut makes it imperative, from the point of view of industry, to safeguard public sector provision. A statement on funds for AFE will have to be made before the end of the year and there is a good chance that it will be better than the worst fears of the local education authorities.

When work loses its old appeal



Patrick Nuttgens

Academics may, as the distinguished writer of this column said a few weeks ago, have no time nowadays to read books because they are busy at meetings but I do manage to read a few from time to time (perhaps I don't go to enough meetings) and I have been enjoying four in particular: P. D. Anthony's *Ideology of Work*; Clive Jenkins and Barrie Sherman's *Collapsing of Work* (to which collapse I suppose they may have contributed significantly); the Pope's encyclical on work *Laborum Exercens* (glad to see that the Pope is not in conflict with Clive Jenkins); and Martin Wiener's *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*. That last study is not only a lively piece of writing; it is also a fascinating account of attitudes to work between 1850 and 1980.

With a wealth of literary reference Wiener gets closer than anyone else I have read to an understanding of the English contempt for industry. He traces the gentrification of the middle classes, the emergence of the professions separating able men from the world of industry and brilliantly identifies the role of the public schools in separating the rising generation from technology and business. The turning point seems to be the Great Exhibition of 1851, whose greatest achievement in this country was ironically to mark the end of a belief in the machine.

England became not only anti-industry, but anti-town and anti-city. England was after all a garden. The architecture of the later nineteenth century precisely reflected the attitude: we were in favour of William Morris, preservation, the vernacular, the Queen Anne style and the village. And with the help of powerful writers like the Hammonds we were against the great industrial city.

Wiener points in the post-war years to the assumption of the polarity of efficiency and human values and finds it not confined to any one political party. He also makes an important distinction between the activities of finance and commerce and those of manufacture and technology - the former identified with the south, especially London, and the latter with the north. In this country the bankers turned away from industry and have consistently shrunk from it, in contrast to their continental opposite numbers.

The universities encouraged an advance not into, but out of, industry. So we have the present predicament - low status for engineers, gentlemanly status in the higher echelons of management and finance, and production as the Cinderella of industry. The only status that industry really enjoys is the status quo.

But back to the nature of work and some comments provoked by Jenkins and Sherman. However attractive to the theorist is the significance of work to the dignity and identity of the individual, indeed the only way most people can identify themselves - the odd thing is that people who don't have to work show little sign of wanting desperately to do so. Ruskin and Oscar Wilde may have made a gesture by putting in some work on the roads but generally the theme of pleasure in labour belongs to artists rather than factory workers. (I was brought up on the pleasure in labour theme and still believe in it, but being a craftsman is one of the pleasantest ways of making a living). It was a Protestant ethic that enabled people who don't do manual work to discover how good it was for other people and good for the economy at the same time. That is at an end. And a good time.

Principles catch up with events sooner or later and events have demonstrated that if the concept of work does not change we shall soon have to live with a Protestant ethic of unemployment, which is a contradiction in terms. The effect of the third Industrial Revolution, the electronic revolution, suggests that, even leaving aside the problems of the 16-19 year olds who do not go on to

arrangements are not unattractive in principle. But if they are composed as suggested, they will be an abomination.

It smacks of a cosy little arrangement between the chief officers negotiating for the local authorities and DES officials. I find it quite unbelievable that what will be potentially the most influential body in higher education - for the community is meant to co-ordinate local authority and university sectors - will be dominated by representatives of local government.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Social Science Research Council bias

Sir, - I should like to draw attention to one crucial respect in which the conclusions of the Social Science Research Council document - "A change in structure for changing circumstances" - are incompatible with its stated intentions.

This has to do with the distinction, which the document makes quite explicitly, between "fundamental" and "applied" research. In paragraph 9, two "types of work" are distinguished, one stemming from the intellectual challenges of particular disciplines, the other multi-disciplinary and oriented to problems of public concern. In paragraph 11(i) the council undertakes to promote research both on "current issues of public importance" and on "fundamental questions about the working of society". The same distinction appears in paragraph 39, between "multi-disciplinary and problem-oriented work" and "innovative research at the boundaries of existing knowledge". It is quite properly observed that although the latter type of work lies often within the bounds of a single discipline and lacks immediate application, it is nevertheless quite essential for developing the "capacity of the social

sciences to respond to the issues of the day".

However, in the very same paragraph (39) the document proceeds to deny the validity and relevance of this distinction. "Insofar as there cannot be a clear distinction between fundamental and applied research, it is not feasible to safeguard this [fundamental] work by requiring committees to set aside a proportion of their budgets for purely theoretical work". This conclusion is in glaring contradiction with the initial premises of the document in two respects. First, having made a distinction between fundamental and applied work, and asserted the responsibility of the SSRC to fund both, it is concluded that no special provision can be made for fundamental work on the grounds that it cannot clearly be distinguished from applied work. Secondly, fundamental research is characterized as "purely theoretical", despite the observation that it may be of great relevance, albeit indirectly, to the practical issues of the day. In fact, if the SSRC is to realize its objectives as set out in paragraph 11 (i), and if the distinction between "fundamental" and "applied" work - as set out in the document - is valid, then the logical conclusion would be

that committees should set aside a proportion of their budgets for the support of fundamental research.

The conclusion of paragraph 39 is not only inconsistent with the premises of the document, it also reveals a systematic bias towards the promotion of applied work. The assumed, whereas fundamental research has to be especially justified. In the proposed new committees, dominated as they would be by representatives of disciplines concerned primarily with applied or policy-oriented studies, even the most persuasive justifications could not be expected to carry a great deal of weight. Yet if fundamental research were neglected, as it might be given inadequate budgetary safeguards, the "capacity of the social sciences to respond to the issues of the day" might be considerably impaired. Would it not be more in keeping with the stated objectives of the SSRC to make special provisions to ensure the support of fundamental research within the new structure?

Yours faithfully,
TIM INGOLD,
Department of Social Anthropology,
University of Manchester.

Archaeology cut

Sir, - We have become accustomed to cuts in education, but I was astonished and dismayed to see that cuts of Thatcherite proportions have now reached the editorial policy of *The THES*. On November 27 you published an article of mine on archaeology journals. This was written at the invitation of the editor and to a length specified by him. The version published in *The THES* has been cut by nearly two-thirds of its original length. This "editing" was done without consultation. I would like to take this opportunity to point out to readers and colleagues that I consider the published version to be a pale reflection, at best, of my original. My arguments have lost their force and the distinctive and vigorous character of archaeology as a discipline is not conveyed to the reader. I might add that this opinion is shared by colleagues in my own department who have read both versions of the article.

Yours faithfully,
R. W. CHAPMAN,
Department of Archaeology,
University of Reading.

Teacher recruitment

Sir, - An unwarranted assumption is distorting proposals now being made on the balance of teacher training. Persistent BED under-recruitment means that there must be a substantial increase in the number of Postgraduate Certificate in Education places for primary training to meet the needs of schools in the later eighties. Not so: responsibility for the so-called "patriarchal under-recruitment" rests squarely with the Department of Education, and Science for failing to respond more urgently to clear demographic and recruitment trends and correctly inform head teachers and careers advisers on future employment prospects.

Positive publicity now encouraging young people to embark upon full undergraduate professional training for the teaching of young children could quickly restore BED admissions to and if necessary beyond the present national target and enable us to think not of increasing the number of postgraduate primary places but of abolishing altogether this inadequate form of training.

Why not abolish BED quotas at the same time - particularly for primary admissions? Institutions known within the profession to offer the kind of training required have no difficulty in recruiting even now. Think what they could do if the Secretary of State gave schools the kind of advice he should have been giving two years ago.

Yours faithfully,
K. E. ROBINSON,
Deputy Principal,
North Riding College of Education,
Scarborough.

University superiority

Sir, - I do not understand your leader "Winning the cuts war," (*THES*, November 27). You say that universities are defensible provided they are not superior, precious, special and exclusive. Do you mean they should be inferior, devalued, possessed of no particular objectives and willing to take anybody regardless of talent or achievement?

To be precious is to be valued. Do we or do we not regard the disciplined deployment of intelligence and insight as most precious, indeed beyond price? Universities have a very special purpose and character, which is to foster those activities whereby the mind impinges creatively on the natural and social worlds, and on the exercise of human imagination and insight. Such activities are subject to discrimination, which means that we try to discern whether they are shoddy or craftsmanlike, rich or impoverished, powerful or weak, logical or illogical. What is powerful, logical etc is judged superior to what is not. Judgment may vary to some degree, but no one doubts that we are engaged in the exercise of judgment. Moreover, a kind of flexible canon emerges as to what the most precious resources of the intellect are: Mozart not Salieri. You say we should aim for popularity not exclusivity. It is hardly the universities who aim at excluding the qualified, or at accepting those with more money and less talent. We would be delighted if sub-atomic physics and John Donne became widely popular and most of us thoroughly approve of *haute vulgarisation*. Or do you mean that judgments in arts, sciences and letters are up for popular vote? Do you even perhaps advise us to proliferate chairs in Fashion and Office Management?

To discriminate is to exclude, unless all can come, which seems unlikely just now. No doubt there are untapped sources of genius and intelligence, but it is not our fault if a comprehensive system has so far not searched them out. Maybe some Suzuki of the future will produce biochemists as well as violinists galore. But in any case we shall still try to seek out the best. Of course we make mistakes, but that can only be shown by the exercise of judgment.

We judge as we expect to be judged in the encouragement of achievement and in trying to be as superior as possible is not inferior. What else, for God's sake?

Yours sincerely,
DAVID MARTIN,
Department of Sociology,
London School of Economics.

Indirect action

Sir, - Student occupation of educational buildings are often referred to, for example in your issue of December 4, as "direct action". Surely they are generally nothing of the kind. Direct action implies that the means and the end are one. Squatting is direct, in that homeless people move into, or live in, empty houses. Occupations against financial cuts are extremely indirect action functioning, if at all, only as publicity. This is for the obvious reason that those running the buildings have no control over the cuts, which they may well oppose as strongly as the occupiers.

The point is not merely pedantic - "direct action" has a ring of being both morally right and also effective. Occupations, however, whatever the morality, are likely to be extremely ineffective against cuts: far less so than, for example, lobbying Members of Parliament, working in constituencies, etc. But these are less glamorous.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN RADFORD,
Faculty of Human Sciences,
North East London Polytechnic.

Union view

The real war is yet to be waged

The public sector has been watching with sympathy as the unions involved in the university sector have been fighting their campaign both nationally, and on a university by university basis, against the cutbacks imposed by the Government and the University Grants Committee. Apart from a natural concern for fellow educationalists in adverse circumstances, the feeling has been heightened by the knowledge that the public sector is next in the firing line. Natfhe's Campaign for Higher Education is partly to alert all the public sector interests as to the problems which lie ahead.

We do not yet know exactly when the Government will announce the Rate Support Grant and the size of the Advanced Further Education Pool. Current suggestions are that this information may not be available to local authorities until mid-January which means that institutions are unlikely to know the size of the cutback that will be imposed upon them before the end of January at the earliest. Their financial year, like that of the local authorities, begins from the April 1. This therefore means that within the space of two months institutions will have to finalize their budgetary process and indicate how they intend to cope with the cuts which we all know are going to be announced.

While there is every sympathy with the universities, it is not surprising that some public sector institutions look with envy at the time scale which the universities have for meeting their target cutback. They are rightly concerned about the cutback

of 15 per cent which the university sector as a whole will have to meet over the next three years. It is possible that some institutions in the public sector may have to face a cutback of 15 per cent in a single year in 1982/83.

For the public sector then this is a period of the money war. One can see the impending disaster looming but as yet individual institutions do not yet know their fate. Consequently there are some who wish to bury their heads in the sand and enjoy the last few days of peace. The majority, more realistically, have been participating in the Campaign for Higher Education which has sought to remind all those who use public sector institutions, of the extent and nature of the contributions which polytechnics and other colleges make to higher education provision in this country.

The public sector is the major provider of opportunities for mature students, part-time students, of sand-wich education and broadly based vocational provision. To attack it is on the one hand, to erode further the all too limited access which the underprivileged have in relation to higher education opportunities. It will also erode the opportunities for those substantial numbers of people thrown out of work by the current state of the employment market and who wish to pick up the pieces of their shattered careers and working lives and re-orient them in a more positive direction. It will further undermine the sector which has for too long suffered under resourcing and underprovision. We hope that the Campaign for Higher Education will result in increased awareness and greater willingness to oppose the Government's plans for this sector. If that is the case then the campaign will indeed represent a major success.

Jean Bocock

The author is assistant secretary for higher education of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

Letters for publication should arrive by Tuesday morning. They should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper. The editor reserves the right to cut or amend them if necessary.